

MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE



THE BARE HILL COPPER MINE, BALTO. COUNTY

Drawn and printed in colors by Schmidt & Trowe, 82 Baltimore St.

(See p. 17)

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BALTIMORE

March · 1964

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Activities

Provides library reference service to about 4,000 patrons yearly—scholars, writers, genealogists, students, collectors, artists. Mail and telephone inquiries double the figure.

Conducts lecture tours of its museum for an annual average of about 8,000 school students. Another 10,000 casual visitors, including tourists, view the collections, in addition to many museum students, collectors, hobbyists and authorities in given fields who utilize stored items for study.

Advises and assists 23 local historical societies in the counties, the work culminating in an Annual Conference of Maryland Historical Societies at which a Maryland Heritage Award is presented for outstanding accomplishment in historical preservation.

Maintains liaison with such allied groups as patriotic societies.

Acts as consultant to civic and governmental groups relative to publications and commemorative occasions.

Publishes the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, and *Maryland History Notes*. Circulation over 3,500 each.

Publishes scholarly works and low-cost school books and leaflets on Maryland history—over 50 different titles.

Holds meetings, open to the public, for lectures by authorities in various fields, including prominent government officials.

Stages special exhibits with timely themes.

1 1 1

For the Government of the State at cost

Edits, publishes and distributes the *Archives of Maryland*. 70th volume in preparation.

Conducts a program of marking historic sites with roadside signs.

Indexes important, original papers relating to Maryland history.

Preserves and publishes data pertaining to Maryland's contribution to World War II.

MSA SC 5881-1-233

MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

PUBLISHED BY
THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY



VOLUME LIX

BALTIMORE

1964

CONTENTS OF VOLUME LIX

| | PAGE |
|--|--------------------|
| THE REVEREND THOMAS CHASE: PUGNACIOUS PARSON <i>Rosamond Randall Beirne</i> | 1 |
| MINING FOR COPPER AND RELATED MINERALS IN MARYLAND | |
| <i>Nancy C. Pearre</i> | 15 |
| CONFEDERATE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE. <i>H. V. Canan</i> | 34 |
| BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES, PART 4. <i>William B. Marye</i> | 52 |
| SIDELIGHTS | 94, 217, 297, 380 |
| REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS | 100, 222, 301, 392 |
| NOTES AND QUERIES | 112, 238, 319, 406 |
| CONTRIBUTORS | 116, 241, 322, 409 |
| ANNUAL REPORTS, 1963 | 117 |
| ELECTION BY SWORD AND BALLOT: THE EMANCIPATIONIST VICTORY OF 1963. | |
| <i>Charles L. Wagandt</i> | 143 |
| LINCOLN'S WESTERN IMAGE IN THE 1860 CAMPAIGN | |
| <i>Patricia Hochwalt Wynne</i> | 165 |
| A VOYAGE TO THE EAST INDIES, 1805. Edited by <i>Frank F. White, Jr.</i> | 182 |
| FRANKLIN'S "DR. SPENCE": THE REVEREND ARCHIBALD SPENCER (1698?-1760), | |
| <i>M.D. J. A. L. Lemay</i> | 199 |
| BOOKS RECEIVED FOR REVIEW | 236, 317, 404 |
| HISTORIANS AND HISTORICAL KNOWLEDGE. <i>Thomas T. Helde</i> | 243 |
| ROGER B. TANEY, THE BANK OF MARYLAND RIOTERS, AND A WHIFF OF | |
| <i>GRAPESHOT</i> . Edited by <i>Frank Otto Gatell</i> | 262 |
| THE BALTIMORE COLLEGE OF DENTAL SURGERY AND THE BIRTH OF PROFES- | |
| <i>SIONAL DENTISTRY, 1840. Carl P. Lewis Jr.</i> | 268 |
| JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY'S HORSE SHOE ROBINSON: A NOVEL WITH "THE | |
| <i>UTMOST HISTORICAL ACCURACY". William S. Osborne</i> | 286 |
| WHEN THE OLD MERCY HOSPITAL WAS NEW. <i>Alexandra Lee Levin</i> | 323 |
| EDITORIAL POLICIES OF THE <i>Maryland Gazette</i> , 1765-1783 | |
| <i>David C. Skaggs</i> | 341 |
| MARYLAND METHODISTS AND THE CIVIL WAR. <i>Richard R. Duncan</i> | 350 |
| THE WRIT OF <i>Audita Querela</i> IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MARYLAND | |
| <i>C. Ashley Ellefson</i> | 369 |

ILLUSTRATIONS

| | PAGE |
|---|---------------|
| The Bare Hill Copper Mine, Balto. County | Cover, March |
| Index Map of Maryland's Copper Mines | 16 |
| Election in Baltimore, 1862, by A. J. Volck | Cover, June |
| Writing the Emancipation Proclamation—Volck | opp. 144 |
| Homemade Campaign Badge, 1860 | opp. 154 |
| Maryland Vote for Comptroller, 1863 | 159 |
| The Star Spangled Flag of the Free | Cover Sept. |
| Diagram of Fort McHenry | opp. 300 |
| The Old Light Street M.E. Church 1779 | Cover, Dec. |
| The Maternité Hospital in 1889 conducted by the College. From George W. Howard, <i>The Monumental City</i> (Balti- more, 1889), p. 432 | 325 |
| The College in 1889, from Howard, <i>Monumental City</i> , p. 431 . | 326 |
| Conference Room of Light Street M.E. Church c. 1800, Litho- graph by Hoen after T. C. Ruckle. Enoch Pratt Library . betw. | 358-359 |
| Conference Room (1865) of the Light Street M.E. Church located on the Second Floor of the Parsonage. Lithograph by Hoen after a drawing by T. C. Ruckle. Enoch Pratt Library | betw. 358-359 |

IN 1904—

when we reached the age of 25

An equestrian statue of John Eager Howard was unveiled in Baltimore. — *Jan. 16.*

Baltimore was partially destroyed by fire, with damage estimated at \$125,000,000-\$150,000,000. — *Feb. 7-8.*

By an Act of the General Assembly the flag of Maryland was legalized. — *March 9.*

Maryland Building at World's Fair in St. Louis formally opened. — *June 8.*

Wherever you move . . . whatever you store . . . call Monumental-Security Storage Company, Baltimore agent for Allied, the World's largest, most trusted Van Line.

MOVING local or long distance by skilled personnel experienced in handling everything from household furnishings to priceless works of art.

PACKING with our exclusive Kleen-Pack method in custom containers protects even your most fragile possessions in storage and during transportation.

STORAGE in Baltimore's most modern concrete and steel warehouse, sprinkler equipped to give you the lowest possible insurance rate and the best possible protection.

Your Baltimore Agent for Allied Van Lines

Monumental-
 **Security STORAGE CO.**

WINDSOR AVENUE AND MONROE STREET
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

Lafayette 3-2141

Lafayette 3-3771

"Serving Baltimore and the Nation Since 1879"



"Fraternity Freddie" says:



"IN THE
OLD DAYS...



(Back in 1913) Fraternity was organized to help folks by their own homes, to save and invest their funds,
SAFELY.

IN MODERN DAYS, after over fifty years of service-with-a-smile, and many millions of dollars in growth, Fraternity Federal Savings and Loan Association, with a *FEDERAL* charter, Government-agency supervision, examination and insurance, is still dedicated to the same spirit of integrity and helpfulness on which it was founded."

NEED A MORTGAGE LOAN?

WANT EARNINGS FROM YOUR INSURED SAVINGS
FOUR TIMES A YEAR?

SEE



FRATERNITY FEDERAL
Savings

AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

Main office:

764-770 Washington Blvd.
Baltimore, Md.—21203

Branch:

Normandy Shopping Center
Route 40, West Ellicott City, Md.

Busy? Weather bad? Use Fraternity's
Speedy, postage-paid SAVE-by-MAIL

BENEFACTORS AND CONTRIBUTORS TO THE FUNDS OF THE SOCIETY

| | |
|--|--------------|
| Mary Washington Keyser, Gift in memory of her husband, H. Irvine Keyser, of the buildings and grounds of the Society, 1916. | |
| William S. Thomas, Very large estate, 1947, for erection and maintenance of Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building | |
| John L. Thomas, Very large residuary bequest, 1961, for Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building | |
| Richard Bennett Darnall, Very large bequest 1957, for a young peoples' museum, payable after termination of a life estate | |
| Miss Elizabeth Chew Williams, 1960 | \$201,395.10 |
| Elise Agnus Daingerfield, Bequest, 1949 | 154,248.00 |
| A. Morris Tyson, Bequest 1956 | 119,713.90 |
| Harry C. Black, Bequest, 1956, Florida home and contents | 66,960.01 |
| Elizabeth S. M. Wild, Bequest, 1950, | 63,906.55 |
| Judge Walter I. Dawkins, Bequest, 1936, \$500, and interest in residuary estate not yet accrued. | |
| Jane James Cook, Bequest, 1945, \$1,000., and other gifts; and 3/40 of annual income of residuary estate. | |
| Mrs. Thomas Courtney Jenkins, Purchase of Star-Spangled Banner MS., erection of marble niche, 1953, gift of Key portraits and renovation of Key Room, 1952 | 38,225.45 |
| H. Oliver Thompson, Bequest, 1937, one-half of annual income from trust estate, and ultimately one-half of estate outright. | |
| Josephine Cushing Morris, Bequest, 1956, \$5,000; proceeds sale of house and contents \$23,937.45..... | 28,937.45 |
| George Peabody, 1866 | 20,000.00 |
| Jacob France, gifts | 19,100.00 |
| Bequest, 1962, Jacob and Anita France Memorial Room and other purposes, after life interest of Mrs. France. | |
| Miss Jessie Marjorie Cook | 15,000.00 |
| Miss Virginia Appleton Wilson \$300. gift 1918; Bequest 1958..... | 11,954.04 |
| A. S. Abell Foundation, 1956, For Brewington Maritime Collection, \$5,000.00; 1959 Latrobe Papers, \$5,000.00..... | 11,000.00 |
| Donaldson Brown, Mt. Ararat Foundation, Inc. for Latrobe Papers and other purposes | 11,000.00 |
| Florence J. Kennedy, bequest 1958, Thomas Campbell Kennedy Fund for the library | 10,511.19 |
| J. Wilson Leakin, Bequest, 1923 | 10,000.00 |
| Susan Dobbin Leakin, Preparation of J. Wilson Leakin room and contribution to its contents, 1924. | |
| George L. Radcliffe, Large contributions cash and otherwise. | |
| J. B. Noel Wyatt, Bequest, 1949..... | 9,685.23 |
| National Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, For binding and restoration of manuscripts | 8,732.36 |
| J. Gilman D'Arcy Paul, For Latrobe Papers and other purposes..... | 8,476.77 |
| Prewitt Semmes, 1954, \$5,650.00; R. Charles Danehower, 1955, \$2,500.00; For Semmes Genealogy and voluntary contributions..... | 8,150.00 |
| Drayton Meade Hite, Bequest, 1923, \$6,000., and other gifts | 7,000.00 |
| Arthur A. Houghton, Jr., For Queen Anne's County History, \$5,000., and other gifts | 6,750.00 |
| Middendorf Foundation | 5,600.00 |
| Thomas C. Corner | 5,211.98 |
| Mrs. Arthur Robeson | 5,200.00 |

| | |
|--|----------|
| Summerfield Baldwin, Jr. | 5,100.00 |
| Mrs. Laurence R. Carton, Bequest 1958 | 5,000.00 |
| Mendes Cohen, Bequest, 1915 | 5,000.00 |
| Caroline J. Lytle, Bequest, 1928 | 5,000.00 |
| Mrs. Richard Bennett Darnall, 1957, Restoring six Darnall portraits. W. Melborne Hart, 1/6 of estate after life interests. | |
| Audubon Fund, 1930-37..... | 4,900.00 |
| J. Appleton Wilson, Gift, 1921, and bequest | 4,765.91 |
| Anonymous | 4,500.00 |
| Mary B. Redwood, Bequest, 1941 | 4,378.43 |
| Henry Stockbridge, gift 1921 and bequest 1924..... | 4,378.43 |
| Mrs. Drayton Meade Hite, Bequest, 1927 | 4,000.00 |
| John E. Semmes, For Studies in Maryland History, 1953 | 3,837.22 |
| Raphael Semmes, Bequest \$3,000., and other gifts | 3,140.00 |
| John P. Paca, 1962-63, restoration of portrait of Gov. William Paca | 3,000.00 |
| Eleanor P. Passano, In memory of Edward B. Passano for purchase of books | 3,000.00 |
| Alexander S. Cochran, For Latrobe Papers and other gifts | 2,700.00 |
| Mrs. Harold Duane Jacobs, For Latbroe Papers and other gifts | 2,650.00 |
| Ellen C. Bonaparte, Bequest 1925 | 2,500.00 |
| Mrs. Francis C. Little, For portrait of Bishop Claggett, 1953 | 2,500.00 |
| Anonymous | 2,427.97 |
| Charlotte Gilman Paul, Bequest, 1955, \$1,630.85, and other gifts | 2,405.85 |
| Sally Randolph Carter, Bequest, 1939, \$1,000., and \$1,000. to establish the Marie Worthington Conrad Lehr room | 2,000.00 |
| Allen Dickey Fund, 1958 | 2,000.00 |
| Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, For annual genealogical prize, 1945 | 2,000.00 |
| Society of Cincinnati in Maryland..... | 1,900.00 |
| Louis and Henrietta Blaustein Foundation, 1957, for the purchase of portrait of Mrs. Elijah Etting and other purposes | 1,700.00 |
| Mrs. DeCourcy W. Thom..... | 1,585.00 |
| Van Lear Black, 1921 | 1,500.00 |
| Washington Perine, Bequest, 1944 | 1,500.00 |
| Eleanor S. Cohen, To furnish room in memory of her parents, Israel and Cecilia E. Cohen | 1,300.00 |
| Mrs. Thomas B. Gresham, Bequest, 1926 | 1,200.00 |
| Hendler Foundation | 1,200.00 |
| Charles Exley Calvert, 1921 | 1,150.00 |
| Mrs. Charles P. Blinn, Jr., For Studies in Maryland History and other gifts | 1,100.00 |
| Samuel K. Dennis, Bequest, 1953 | 1,100.00 |
| S. Bernard November, Bequest 1956 | 1,100.00 |
| Mrs. Maurice Bouvier, 1957 | 1,000.00 |
| Hon. W. Calvin Chesnut, Bequest 1963 | 1,000.00 |
| Isaac Henry Ford, Bequest, 1916 | 1,000.00 |
| Frederick, Foster, Bequest 1963 | 1,000.00 |
| Florence Gutman, Bequest 1963 | 1,000.00 |
| Anna B. C. Hambleton, Bequest, 1940 | 1,000.00 |
| W. Hall Harris, Sr. | 1,000.00 |
| Mary Parkhurst Hayden, Bequest, 1934 | 1,000.00 |
| M. Ella Hoopes, Bequest, 1942 | 1,000.00 |
| Sewell Key, Bequest, 1948 | 1,000.00 |
| Thomas S. Nichols, 1958 | 1,000.00 |
| Isaac F. Nicholson, 1909 | 1,000.00 |
| Isaac Tyson Norris, 1916 | 1,000.00 |
| Emilie McKim Reed, Bequest, 1926 | 1,000.00 |
| Clinton L. Riggs, Bequest, 1938 | 1,000.00 |
| Morris Schapiro, 1959..... | 1,000.00 |
| J. Henry Stickney, Bequest, 1892 | 1,000.00 |
| DeCourcy W. Thom, 1921 | 1,000.00 |
| Mrs. W. Calvin Chesnut, Bequest, 1942 | 1,000.00 |

| | |
|---|----------|
| Nellie C. Williams, Bequest 1944 | 1,000.00 |
| and 1/2 of trust estate after life interest. | |
| Mrs. Wm. Duncan McKim | 932.86 |
| Confederate Relics Fund, 1921-22 | 900.00 |
| Mrs. Samuel K. Dennis, Bequest, 1959 | 882.00 |
| F. Sims McGrath, For Bordley Papers and other purposes | 858.25 |
| Carling Brewing Company, for display case for " Act of Religious Tolera- tion " | 850.00 |
| Miss Grace Birmingham | 800.00 |
| Misses Elizabeth Gray and Julia McHenry Howard, For Studies in Mary- land History, and other gifts | 758.33 |
| Western Maryland Railroad, 1957 | 750.00 |
| Maryland Society Colonial Dames of America, For restoration of manu- scripts | 748.55 |
| Moses S. and Blanch H. Hecht Foundation | 712.00 |
| Maryland Society Daughters of Colonial War | 710.00 |
| Woman's Eastern Shore Society | 600.00 |
| Mr. and Mrs. Morgan B. Schiller, For restoration of Lloyd Papers | 650.00 |
| Mrs. William S. Hillis | 640.00 |
| Augusta M. Libby, Bequest \$500., 1946, and other gifts | 625.00 |
| Alexander E. Duncan | 600.00 |
| Louis S. Zimmerman | 600.00 |
| Mrs. William R. Milford, For Amelung goblet | 553.00 |
| Maryland Society Daughters of Founders and Patriots of America, For restoration of manuscripts | 526.00 |
| Mrs. Francis N. Iglehart, 1958 | 509.75 |
| W. G. Baker, Jr., 1921 | 500.00 |
| Mrs. John Nicholas Brown | 500.00 |
| Buck Glass Company, For Amelung goblet | 500.00 |
| Clarence E. Elderkin, For Latrobe Papers | 500.00 |
| Mrs. W. Hall Harris, Sr. | 500.00 |
| Rebecca Lanier King, Bequest, 1928 | 500.00 |
| Mrs. William Milnes Maloy, For purchase of Jefferson Papers | 500.00 |
| Annie Smith Riggs, Bequest, 1959 | 500.00 |
| Neil H. Swanson | 500.00 |
| R. C. Ballard Thruston, Bequest, 1946 | 500.00 |
| Vanderbilt University, For Studies in Maryland History No. 3 | 500.00 |
| Adelaide S. Wilson | 500.00 |
| William Power Wilson | 500.00 |
| Charles McHenry Howard | 433.33 |
| Bryden Bordley Hyde | 425.00 |
| Ernest Roberts, Bequest, 1962 | 403.80 |
| Miss Margaret Myrtle Lankford | 400.00 |
| Hutzler Fund, Inc. | 350.00 |
| McCormick & Co. | 350.00 |
| Miss Ethel M. Miller | 350.00 |
| McHenry Howard | 333.34 |
| Mrs. Mildred Siegel, For gallery installation | 322.66 |
| Society of the War of 1812 in Maryland | 320.00 |
| Arunah S. A. Brady | 315.00 |
| Women's Committee | 309.51 |
| Simon Dalsheimer | 300.00 |
| Henry F. du Pont | 300.00 |
| Mrs. Frank M. Dick | 300.00 |
| George de Geofroy | 300.00 |
| Mrs. Brantz Mayer Roszel, Bequest, 1954 | 300.00 |
| Miles White, Jr. | 300.00 |
| Calvert Distillers Corporation, For cleaning portrait | 275.86 |
| Joseph Katz | 275.00 |
| J. Hall Pleasants | 275.00 |
| Robert Garrett | 270.00 |
| Maryland Daughters of American Revolution | 255.00 |

| | |
|---|--------|
| Baltimore Ice Cream Centennial | 250.00 |
| Heyward E. Boyce, Bequest, 1950 | 250.00 |
| Hugo Dalsheimer | 250.00 |
| L. Manuel Hendler | 250.00 |
| Maryland Society United Daughters of the Confederacy | 250.00 |
| William Milnes Maloy Memorial, Gift of employees | 250.00 |
| Ida M. Shirk, Bequest, 1949, \$200., and other gifts | 250.00 |
| Joseph E. Smith | 250.00 |
| LaPides Foundation..... | 225.00 |
| Philip A. Beatty, Bequest 1963, as Memorial to Sue Magruder Waters Worley, and other gifts | 200.00 |
| Howard Bruce | 200.00 |
| S. M. Drayer | 200.00 |
| Jacob Epstein | 200.00 |
| F. Grainger Marburg..... | 200.00 |
| Robert G. Merrick..... | 200.00 |
| Edward B. Passano | 200.00 |
| Jefferson Patterson..... | 200.00 |
| Henry F. Reese | 200.00 |
| A. Russell Slagle | 200.00 |
| Mrs. George Weems Williams | 200.00 |
| Miss Sue W. Worley..... | 200.00 |
| Mrs. Frances Eaton Weld | 175.00 |
| Mrs. William S. Ford | 160.00 |
| E. Bruce Baetjer..... | 150.00 |
| Helen Birmingham..... | 150.00 |
| Charles C. Homer, Jr. | 150.00 |
| Addison C. Mullikin | 150.00 |
| Trafford Klots..... | 142.84 |
| Maryland House & Garden Pilgrimage..... | 142.84 |
| Louis H. Dielman | 125.00 |
| Douglas H. Gordon | 125.00 |
| R. C. Hoffman | 125.00 |
| Samuel E. Wilson | 120.00 |

The following have contributed \$100.00 each either to the Endowment Fund or for other purposes:

| | | |
|--|--|---|
| Mrs. Michael Abrams | Robt. J. Gill Foundation | Elizabeth Grant McIlvain |
| American Institute of Architects | Mrs. Johnson Garrett | Carl Ross McKenrick |
| Ark and Dove Society | Alexander B. Griswold | Hooper S. Miles |
| Howard Baetjer | Samuel M. Hecht | Lloyd E. Mitchell |
| Mrs. Harvey G. Beck | Mrs. John Cary Heterick | John H. Morgan |
| Rosamond Randall Beirne | Chester Hockley | F. C. Nicodemus, Jr. |
| Mrs. A. B. Bibbins | John M. Hollyday | Florence Belle Ogg |
| Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss | D. Luke Hopkins | Mary Parlett |
| John E. Bordley | Henry P. Hynson | Pratt D. Phillips |
| Fred G. Boyce, Jr. | William Ingle | Potomac Valley Chapter Amer. Inst. Arch. |
| Mrs. Zelina C. Brunshwig | O'Donnell Iselin | Alice Semmes |
| John G. Buck | Thomas W. Jamison, 3rd | Mrs. Harper D. Sheppard |
| Mrs. Stockton Buzby | Mrs. Frank R. Kent | Mrs. Edward Shoemaker |
| Milton Campbell | Jane Griffith Keys | Howard E. Simpson |
| Civil War Centennial Com- mission | Mrs. Sidney Lansburgh | Katherine Bibb Stehman |
| Charles M. Cohn | Albert Lion | Bernard C. Steiner |
| Mrs. E. Herrman Cohn | Mrs. Rebecca Littlejohn | Mrs. Robert H. Stevenson |
| Mrs. Virginia B. Davies | Mrs. James H. Lovell | Mrs. Sherlock Swann |
| J. W. Dean | Miss Fanny Lyon | Wilbur Van Sant |
| Alice Curtis Desmond | Frank C. Marino | Washington County His- torical Society |
| William A. Dickey, Jr. | Foundation, Inc. | Langbourne Williams |
| Eastern Shore Society of Baltimore City | Marma Foundation | John Purdon Wright |
| Fidelity & Deposit Co. | Maryland Credit Finance Corporation | |
| | Henry deCourcy May | |

For other contributions, including those donated in connection with payment of annual dues, the Society makes grateful acknowledgment.

Gifts of various funds, many of large amounts, have been received to advance the cause of historical preservation and increase appreciation of our Maryland heritage. These have been used for contemplated purposes for the benefit of the people of Maryland without direct advantage to the Society and have not been included in the general funds listed above.

| | |
|---|--|
| Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch, Old Trinity Restoration Laurance S. Rockefeller | Ramsay, Scarlett & Co. Chapel of Ease, Taylor's Island, Restoration Anonymous contributions. |
|---|--|

For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures.

OFFICERS AND MEMBERS OF COMMITTEES OF THE
MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

elected at the Annual Meeting, February 10, 1964.

President

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE

Vice-Presidents

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL
Corresponding Secretary
WILLIAM B. MARYE

FREDERICK W. BRUNE
Treasurer
SAMUEL HOPKINS

BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE
Recording Secretary
H. H. WALKER LEWIS

Trustees of the Athenaeum

HOWARD BAETJER
ALBERT D. HUTZLER

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR., *Chairman*
EDGAR W. GARBISCH

A. A. HOUGHTON, JR.
CHARLES L. MARBURG

Committee on the Gallery

MRS. MICHAEL A. ABRAMS
J. R. HERBERT BOONE

JOHN HENRY SCARFF, *Chairman*
MRS. HAROLD D. JACOBS
MRS. H. IRVINE KEYSER, 2nd

R. MCGILL MACKALL
MRS. GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

Committee on the Library

THOMAS F. CADWALADER
Curtis Carroll Davis

Dr. HUNTINGTON WILLIAM, *Chairman*
EDWARD G. HOWARD
THOMAS G. MACHEN

CHARLES C. WALLACE
JOHN CAMPBELL WHITE

Committee on Finance

BENJAMIN H. GRISWOLD, III
ROBERT G. MERRICK
J. WILLIAM MIDDENDORF, JR.

HOOPER S. MILES, *Chairman*

JOHN E. MOTZ
THOMAS S. NICHOLS
TRUMAN T. SEMANS

Committee on Publications

MISS RHODA M. DORSEY
AUBREY C. LAND

CHARLES A. BARKER, *Chairman*

HAMILTON OWENS
WILSON SMITH

Committee on Membership

GEORGE W. CONSTABLE
FRANCIS H. JENCKS
JAMES W. McELROY

CHARLES P. CRANE, *Chairman*

JAMES C. MULLIKIN
JOHN P. PACA, JR.
NEIL H. SWANSON

Committee on Addresses

RICHARD F. CLEVELAND

HOWARD BAETJER, II, *Chairman*

ROBERT L. WEINBERG

Committee on War Records

GARY BLACK
ROGER BROOKE HOPKINS

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman*

J. RIEMAN McINTOSH
LT. GEN. MILTON A. RECKORD

Committee on Education

THOMAS G. PULLEN, *Chairman*

HARRY BARD

THE RT. REV. NOBLE C. POWELL

A. RUSSEL SLAGLE

Committee on Relations with Other Societies

MRS. FRANCIS F. BEIRNE, *Chairman*

ROYDEN A. BLUNT

MRS. WILLIAM S. HILLES

ALEXANDER S. COCHRAN

CHARLES MCC. MATHIAS, JR.

Committee on the Maritime Collection

G. H. POWDER, *Chairman*

MARION V. BREWINGTON

J. DAWSON REEDER

S. VAN NORT CHAPMAN

RALPH J. ROBINSON

CHARLES S. GARLAND

RICHARD H. RANDALL

CHARLES E. SCARLETT, JR.

H. GRAHAM WOOD

WILLIAM C. STEUART

Building Committee

ABBOTT L. PENNIMAN, JR., *Chairman*

JOHN HENRY SCARFF

MRS. WILLIAM W. SYMINGTON, JR.

RICHARD STEPHENS

LUCIUS R. WHITE, JR.

Women's Committee

MRS. WILLIAM W. SYMINGTON, JR., *Chairman*

MRS. WILLIAM G. BAKER

MRS. J. WILLIAM MIDDENDORF, JR.

MRS. KENNETH A. BOURNE

MRS. B. FRANK NEWCOMER

MRS. RICHARD F. CLEVELAND

MISS ELIZABETH C. G. PACKARD

MRS. EDWARD K. DUNN

MRS. WILLIAM H. PITCHER

MRS. SWEPSON EARLE

MRS. EDWIN C. POND

MISS LOUISA M. GARY

MRS. J. CREIGHTON RIEPE

MRS. W. T. DIXON GIBBS, JR.

MRS. J. NICHOLAS SHRIVER, JR.

MISS JEAN H. GILMOR

MRS. PAUL P. SWETT, JR.

MRS. BRYDEN BORDLEY HYDE

MISS MARY GORDON THOM

MRS. H. IRVINE KEYSER, II

MRS. CHARLES A. WEBB

MRS. NICHOLAS B. MERRYMAN OF J

MRS. GEORGE W. WILLIAMS

Special Projects Committee

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS, *Chairman*

THOMAS M. ANDERSON, JR.

W. BOULTON KELLY, JR.

GORDON P. BAIRD

JOHN W. NOBLE, JR.

HUGH BENET, JR.

GEORGE M. RADCLIFFE

WALTER W. BREWSTER

ROBERT LEE RANDOLPH

PLEASANTON L. CONQUEST, III

ORLANDO V. RIDOUT, IV

WILLIAM V. ELDER, III

ARTHUR W. SHERWOOD

GEORGE D. HUBBARD

W. CAMERON SLACK

JOSEPH D. TYDINGS

HAROLD R. MANAKEE, *Director*

Honorary Members

THE EARL OF AVON

DR. LAWRENCE C. WROTH

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. 59, No. 1

MARCH, 1964

CONTENTS

| | PAGE |
|--|------|
| The Reverend Thomas Chase: Pugnacious Parson <i>Rosamond Randall Beirne</i> | 1 |
| Mining for Copper and Related Minerals in Maryland <i>Nancy C. Pearre</i> | 15 |
| Confederate Military Intelligence <i>H. V. Canan</i> | 34 |
| Baltimore City Place Names, Part 4 . . . <i>William B. Marye</i> | 52 |
| Sidelights | 94 |
| Exeunt, Roaring <i>Tench Francis Tilghman</i> | |
| Reviews of Recent Books | 100 |
| Bodine, <i>The Face of Virginia</i> , by Harold R. Manakee | |
| Burgess, <i>This Was Chesapeake Bay</i> , by Richard H. Randall | |
| Davis, ed., <i>William Fitzhugh and His Chesapeake World, 1676-1701</i> , by Churchill E. Ward | |
| Robertson, <i>The Stonewall Brigade</i> , by Curtis Carroll Davis | |
| Caruso, <i>The Southern Frontier</i> , by Verne E. Chatelain | |
| Hemphill, ed., <i>The Papers of John C. Calhoun: Volume II, 1817-1818</i> , by Frank Otto Gatell | |
| Pease and Pease, <i>Black Utopias: Negro Communal Experiments in America</i> , by Benjamin Quarles | |
| Battis, <i>Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony</i> , by Ellen Hart Smith | |
| Quarles, <i>The Negro in the American Revolution</i> , by Richard Walsh | |
| Cunningham, <i>The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809</i> , by Rhoda M. Dorsey | |
| Notes and Queries | 112 |
| Contributors | 116 |
| Annual Reports, 1963 | 117 |

Annual Subscription to the Magazine, \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

Richard Walsh, Editor
C. A. Porter Hopkins, Asst. Editor

Published quarterly by the Maryland Historical Society, 201 W. Monument Street, Baltimore 1, Md. Second-class postage paid at Baltimore, Md.

PUBLICATIONS



Studies in Maryland History

- His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland.
By Donnell M. Owings. 1953 \$ 6.00
- Baltimore as Seen by Visitors, 1783-1860. By Raphael Semmes.
Illustrated. 1953 \$ 4.00
- William Buckland, 1733-1774. By Rosamond R. Beirne and John
H. Scarff. 1958 \$ 7.50

Texts and References for School Use

- My Maryland. By Kaessmann, Manakee and Wheeler. History of
Maryland, revised edition. 1955 \$ 3.15
- The Star Spangled Banner. Illustrated Booklet. Description of the
writing of our national anthem by Francis Scott Key \$.50
- Indians of Early Maryland. By Harold R. Manakee. 1959 . . \$ 1.80
- Maryland in the Civil War. By Harold R. Manakee. 1961 . . \$ 4.50
- Early Explorations of the Chesapeake Bay. By Gilbert Byron. 1960 \$ 1.00
- Wheeler Leaflets on Maryland History. (25 titles) . . . each \$.10

Miscellaneous

- The Maryland Press, 1777-1790. By Joseph T. Wheeler. 1938 . \$ 4.00
- Calendar of Otho Holland Williams Papers. By Elizabeth Merritt
(mimeographed, paper covers). 1940 \$ 2.75
- History of Queen Anne's County. By Frederic Emory. 1950 . . \$ 7.50
- Descendants of Richard and Elizabeth (Ewen) Talbot of West
River. Ida M. Shirk, comp. 1927 \$15.00
- Semmes and Kindred Families. By Harry Wright Newman. 1956 \$10.00
- The Hollyday and Related Families of the Eastern Shore of Mary-
land. By James Bordley, Jr., M.D. 1962 \$10.00
- The Regimental Colors of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Maryland).
By H. R. Manakee and Col. Roger S. Whiteford. 1959 . . . \$ 2.00

World War II

- Maryland in World War II: Vol. I, Military Participation, 1950;
Vol. II, Industry and Agriculture, 1951; Vol. III, Home Front
Volunteer Services, 1958; Vol. IV, Gold Star Honor Roll, 1956.
H. R. Manakee, comp. each \$ 3.25
- History of the 110th Field Artillery, with Sketches of Related
Units. By Col. John P. Cooper, Jr. Illustrated. 1953 . . . \$ 5.00
- History of the 175th Infantry (Fifth Md. Regt.) .by James H.
Fitzgerald Brewer. 1955 \$ 5.00

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

201 W. Monument Street
Baltimore 1, Maryland

Postage and tax,
if applicable, extra.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume 59

MARCH, 1964

Number 1

THE REVEREND THOMAS CHASE: PUGNACIOUS PARSON

By ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE

THE Maryland Chases stem from Samuel Chase, freeman of London and member of the Honorable Company of Tylers and Bricklayers. Though this was one of the minor guilds, a member had considerable standing in the community. Samuel Chase, the Englishman, was a man of property, owning freehold houses and parcels of land in Maidenhead Court and Westminster. His widow, Henrietta Catherine Davis Chase, died in 1725 leaving a comfortable estate which, added to her husband's, took the one son remaining in the old country many years to divide and settle. The Chase family at this time had a propensity for the Church ministry. Two sons became Church of England priests and a third married the daughter of one.¹

¹ Genealogy of Samuel Chase from transcripts prepared for lawsuit in Townley estate, Chase Home Papers, Md. Hist. Soc.

The two sons of Samuel of London, Richard and Thomas, later to become clergymen in Maryland, received their education at Cambridge University. Thomas, born in 1703 in St. Giles in the Fields, was first sent to Eton and later (October 1721) admitted to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a pensioner. For some reason, however, he changed colleges and received his degree from Sidney Sussex. There he studied medicine and in his spare time did some teaching of Hebrew and Latin.² As a practicing physician he emigrated to the West Indies and from there, like so many others seeking better opportunities, went on to the colony of Maryland where his elder brother had preceded him. He had not long been settled in Somerset County when he determined to enter the priesthood and returned to England to be ordained. He evidently had been promised a living, probably through the influence of his brother Richard, a friend of Lord Baltimore. In London he was made Deacon in St. James' by the Bishop of St. David's, January 7, 1739, and on February 11, 1740, a priest by the Bishop of London at a service in the Royal Chapel, Whitehall. Chase immediately sailed for Maryland and was inducted into Somerset Parish on the Eastern Shore.³

It is most probable that Thomas Chase had set his cap for a young lady living not far from his parish. It is likely, too, that her family, the Walkers, who had for fifty years been interested in promoting the Church of England in the colony, had helped secure the living for him. The father of Matilda Walker, the lady of his choice, was Thomas Walker, Jr., who signed himself "Gent. of Stepney Parish," son of one of Somerset County's early settlers. Thomas Walker, Senior, known as "Captain," was a wealthy merchant and shipowner. His home plantation, "Despence," contained one thousand acres which fringed the Wicomico River at the mouth of Dashiell's Creek. It is not known exactly when he came to Maryland but he began buying land in 1675, a year after he had been married by a Justice of the Peace to Jane Coppinball. In the five remaining years of his life, Thomas Walker held the offices of

² *Alumni Cantabrigensis* (Cambridge, England, 1922), ed. John Venn, Part I, Vol. I.

³ Ethan Allen, "History of St. Paul's Church" ms, Baltimore 1855, Md. Hist. Soc., p. 85.

High Sheriff, Naval Officer, Justice of the Peace, and High Commissioner to lay out the new county of Wicomico, all positions of distinction, attesting to his importance in the county. His will, probated in 1681, disclosed that there were no churches or clergy in Somerset at that time, for he inserted an unusual clause: "I give to the first Protestant Minister that shall hereafter come from England to live in this County one thousand pounds good tobacco for his transportation or cash to contain same."⁴

In 1680, the Church of England in the colonies boasted few members. Roman Catholic Maryland with nearly fifty years of tradition in religious toleration had welcomed as settlers the Quakers and the Puritans driven from Virginia, but found it hard to assimilate them, as well as members of the Established Church. The English church took little interest in providing shepherds or folds for its own flocks. In 1676 there were only three Anglican priests in the colony of Maryland. The accession of Protestant William and Mary to the British throne stimulated interest in the church and orders went out at that time to divide the ten counties of Maryland into thirty-one parishes. Yet even then there were but sixteen men of the cloth for these thirty-one parishes. The livings were jealously held by Lord Baltimore as his personal gift and he was usually amiable enough to suggest to his friends that they take Holy Orders so as to have security for their declining years. While there were worthy men in the ministry, the clergy on the whole, both at home and abroad, were a worldly set more interested in their own livelihood than in the saving of souls. But with the arrival of Governor Francis Nicholson in 1694 the Church in Maryland improved. He persuaded the Bishop of London to send someone over to weed out the profligate and to recruit new clergy. "The Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts" in 1700 dispatched Dr. Bray as Commissary, a title used in the Anglican Church for a Bishop's representative. Though Dr. Bray did much to elevate both morals and scholarship, he did not consider toleration one of the necessary virtues and the Roman Catholics were hounded by both Church

⁴ *Arch. Md.*, V, 104; VI, 103. Stepney Parish Records, M. H. S., Somerset Co. Wills, Liber 2, 127, H. R.

and State. During this decade there was but one clergyman in Somerset County for the decreed four parishes. He presumably was the man brought over by old Thomas Walker's bequest.⁵

When in 1739 the Rev. Thomas Chase was granted Somerset Parish and inducted therein, the livings were filling up, but the parishes were so large that the incumbent had to spend long hours in the saddle to minister to his scattered flock. Chase later was also curate to the rector of Great Choptank Parish in Dorchester County.⁶ He married Matilda Walker in 1740, but their happiness was short-lived. Matilda died in childbirth the following year at her father's plantation, her husband's medical training being of no avail, and left to fight his way through an uncompromising world, a healthy little boy.

The original Walker plantation, "Despence," had been divided and Thomas, Jr., called the 250 acres he had inherited, "Last Purchase." The house sat a half-mile back from the water to give assurance of freedom from ague fevers. The baby, Samuel Chase, was not to know his grandparents, for it is evident from the will of Thomas Walker, Jr., probated in 1744 that his wife Sarah had previously deceased him. The home plantation was left to the husband of one of the six remaining daughters. His Chase grandson, aged three, was remembered in a bequest of £125 left in trust, "if he shall live to the age of twenty-one or to marry." Walker showed himself to be a conservative business man for he requested his two trusted friends to invest his holdings in "secured English property." It was, however, 1770 before the grandfather's wishes were carried out and Samuel Chase received his legacy.⁷ It is not known what feminine influence there was in Sam Chase's babyhood. Any one of his six Walker aunts might have had a hand in his care as they had all married and lived in the same section of the Eastern Shore of Maryland. Someone there must have assumed the responsibility because he had hardly been born when his father embarked on a journey which required a long absence from home, physical stamina and diplomacy.

⁵ Francis L. Hawks, *The Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland* (New York, 1839), pp. 49-113.

⁶ Nelson W. Rightmyer, *Maryland's Established Church* (Baltimore, 1956), p. 169 and *Arch. Md.*, IX, 317.

⁷ Somerset Co. Wills, Liber EB 9, 252. Accounts 22, f. 80, 81, 82. Somerset Co. Deeds, Liber 026, f. 118; H. R.

At this juncture the Indians calling themselves the Six Nations were claiming land along the Susquehanna and the Potomac Rivers and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland and Virginia. Their claims conflicted with those of Maryland, Virginia and Pennsylvania, all of which colonies were anxious to keep the peace. Blood had been shed in Virginia making an immediate settlement necessary. A commission composed of representatives of the three colonies was appointed to treat the Indians and a German settler named Conrad Weiser, who had lived in the Western counties and spoke the Indian tongue, was selected as interpreter to the commission. He was directed to go to the chiefs and invite them to come to Annapolis to discuss their troubles. Weiser took the Rev. Thomas Chase along with him on this mission. In Somerset County lay a reservation of three thousand acres set aside for the Nanticoke Indians. Chase's selection suggests that he had had experience in dealing with Indians. Perhaps he had done missionary work on the reservation, as making Christians of the savages was an important British charity in the Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries.

Starting from the Eastern Shore of Maryland the two men followed the winding roads around creeks and over rivers by ford until they became mere trails in the Pennsylvania foothills. Their meeting with the chiefs took place at Shamokin on the banks of the Susquehanna River. This, the most important Indian town in the Province, lay at the junction of the north and west branches. Three hundred members of the Six Nations held this strategic point and they had had previous dealings with Weiser.⁸

The results of this trip were read from Weiser's report to the Governor's Council by Col. Levin Gale, one of the commission, at the March session, 1742. There had been no appropriation for the expense account of Mr. Chase so twenty pounds was paid him out of the funds given Col. Gale to buy gifts for the Indians.⁹ Unrest among the Indians on the Somerset reservation caused trouble for the Maryland colonists for two more years. Stirred up by the Shawnees they plotted to massacre the

⁸ "Bishop Cammerhoff's Narrative of a Journey to Shamokin, Pa.," ed. J. W. Jordan, *Pennsylvania Magazine of Hist. and Bio.*, XXIX (April, 1905), 160.

⁹ *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 293, 305.

settlers on the Eastern shore. The plot was discovered and in 1744 a treaty was concluded which allowed the Nanticokes to leave Maryland and join the other tribes in the West.¹⁰

Soon after the return of the ambassadors to the Six Nations the Rev. Benedict Bourdillion, third rector of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore County, died. Thomas Chase by then had had enough of a parish remote from urban life and the society of scholars and men of the world; so, hearing of the vacancy, he applied to the Governor for it. Governor Bladen, in whose hands the charge rested, at least as far as recommending postulants to Lord Baltimore, knew Chase through his Indian experience if in no other way. Chase journeyed to Annapolis to confer with him and his Attorney-General, Edmund Jenings, on the propriety of giving Bourdillion's widow a pledge of some sort for her future support. Since there was no pension system, the clergyman's family was, in all probability, destitute. The authorities agreed both to giving Chase the parish and to his making provision for the family of his predecessor by giving bond for twenty-six thousand pounds of tobacco.¹¹ The clergy of the southern colonies were paid in tobacco, a per capita tax in this valued commodity being extracted from every colonist, regardless of his ecclesiastical leaning, for the support of the Church of England.

Chase, with his three-year-old son whom he addressed affectionately as Sammy, moved up from Somerset County in the winter of 1745 to take up his work in the heart of Baltimore Town. The town had been laid out in 1730 and due to its good harbor, the waterpower of Jones' Falls, the abundance of limestone, iron, timber and excellent farm land on the outskirts, increased steadily in population. St. Paul's Parish was enormous geographically, covering twenty miles from east to west and about sixteen from north to south. It comprised 860 taxables, and except for a Friends' Meeting House, provided the only place of public worship in the town. The church building was on a lot bounded by the present Charles, Saratoga, St. Paul and Lexington streets. This was the second St. Paul's, the first church having been built to the east of the town. It

¹⁰ J. T. Scharf, *History of Maryland* (Balt. 1874), I, 424 *passim.*, *Arch. Md.*, XLII, 527, 534, 651.

¹¹ *Arch. Md.*, XXI, 514, 527, 534.

had been completed only six years earlier because of lengthy haggling with contractors. Chase was its fourth incumbent and was paid the equivalent of \$1,437 a year, an excellent salary for the time.¹²

The new rector had hardly started on his charge when his benevolence backfired. He had given bond to pay the widow Bourdillion for her support and had failed to keep his contract. The subject of his benefaction, with good Swiss business sense, sued him and he was clapped into prison as a debtor.¹³

James Richards, the Sheriff of Baltimore County, was delighted to carry out the orders of the court at Joppa in punishing this outspoken and financially irresponsible clergyman. Some time before this Chase had taken the trouble to write the Governor accusing Richards of Jacobite sympathy by "Cursing and insulting the Hanover royalty." Richards had not taken this slur on his loyalty calmly for it could cost him his job. Meeting Chase on the street one day, without much more argument, he knocked him down. Chase took the case to court where he is recorded as "Rector of St. Paul's Parish, about 30 years old." Since Chase was 43 he evidently had a youthful look. The sheriff produced a great number of witnesses to refute the word of Chase's only "reliable" one, and they all testified that there had been a party with considerable drinking and many toasts. Some, they said, were definitely drunk when they toasted the Pretender. Even the Rev. Mr. Cradock, rector of St. Thomas' Church, far out in the forest, had favored the Pretender; yet Mr. Chase had made no mention of that. Chase nobly rose to the defence of his intimate friend on this issue saying, "You can't blame me to favor my poor brother Cradock." The Committee of Aggrievances of the Assembly in reviewing the case decided that Chase's accusations against Richards were "groundless and Malicious."¹⁴

But the trouble between Mrs. Bourdillion and Chase was much more serious. The widow had recovered 490 pounds of tobacco damages before Chase became a "languishing" prisoner. But his incarceration gave him leisure to use his ever-

¹² J. T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Balt. 1874), pp. 28, 29.

¹³ *Arch. Md.*, XXI, 514, 527, 534.

¹⁴ Chancery Court, # 8 IR, 584, 638, 971, 975, H. R., *Arch. Md.*, XXVIII, 370 *passim*.

ready pen for another long letter to the Governor, in an effort to be released. It brought to notice the Joppa case in which Chase came out the loser and pointed to the more culpable issue of whether Chase had given Mrs. Bourdillion a "Bond of Resignation." This was a bond given by an incumbent of a parish, pledging himself to resign under certain conditions. For actual application it amounted to the buying and selling of church livings. The issue was a particularly sensitive one in Maryland where the law did not hold since the livings were part of the patronage of Lord Baltimore.

Governor Bladen, by this time out of office, and Jenings, the Attorney-General, both admitted that they had given approval to the transaction but realizing the implications to the Proprietary, testified that they had no idea they were agreeing to a Bond of Resignation. Receiving no help from this source, Chase's counsel tried to arouse sympathy for his client by stating that he had been lodged in jail since November 21, 1746, a matter of six months, and the parish deprived of his much needed services. The Lower House, whose duty it was to pass on the case brought before it by the Committee of Aggrievances, concluded that Bonds of Resignation could not be approved, and of course, debts legally contracted must be paid. So the Rev. Mr. Chase's petition was rejected by a vote of twenty-seven to seventeen. Nevertheless his imprisonment could not have lasted much longer for soon he is recorded as adding to the improvements of his church and town.¹⁵

The two hot-tempered men, Chase and Richards, in places of proximity and authority, were not to be made friends by law. There were two cases in 1750 in the Provincial Court between them. Chase still suffering from what he considered injustice finally convinced the court that he was an innocent victim of personal antagonism for he was allowed ten pounds currency damages from Mrs. Bourdillion which he gallantly released, his character cleared; and twenty-five pounds from Richards. As late as 1753 Richards was stubbornly pressing the same charges against Chase in Chancery Court but after several postponements his case was dismissed with "Demurrer overruled with costs." This running fight was passed on to Richard

¹⁵ Judgments, Provincial Court, E. J. # 13, 291, 293, 340, H. R.

Chase, the Rev. Thomas' nephew, who also won a damage suit against the now discredited sheriff. Richards was caught in arrears by Lord Baltimore's agents. He owed thousands of pounds of good tobacco in fees which he had not collected or had spent for purposes other than maintaining his Lordship's government.¹⁶

Thomas Chase's energy was boundless. He found one outlet for it as a defender of the faith. He was constantly on watch for violations of church and civil law. With the return of Protestant sovereigns after the abdication of James II, the Roman Catholics, in a no longer tolerant Maryland, were badly treated. They could not hold office and were permitted church services only in the privacy of their homes. Doubly taxed to support the Established Church as well as the army in the French and Indian War, many like Charles Carroll of Annapolis considered moving to New Orleans. From every county, informers were reporting to the Assembly acts of Catholic regression and Mr. Chase was not the least active among them. In 1753 he was one of five Protestant clergymen protesting Roman Catholic schools. Four years later he reported that Mary Ann March, "a reputed Papist," was luring scholars away from the Protestant schoolmaster and proselyting them.¹⁷ Still later he protested the settling of the French Acadians in the Province, saying, "he felt it was dangerous to the government." He worried Governor Sharpe into quoting him to Lord Baltimore. The Calverts had by this time renounced Catholicism and were in favor with the British Protestant rule. Wrote Horatio Sharpe:

Mr. Chase, rector of St. Paul's Parish in Baltimore County, scrupled not to intimate from the Pulpit to his Congregation that the State or Situation of the Protestants in this Province was at that time, very little different from that of the Protestants in Ireland at the Eve of the Irish Massacre.

Since the Roman Catholics comprised only one-twelfth of the population at this time, Mr. Chase's fears were hardly justified and Sharpe concluded his lengthy letter defending them: "If I was asked whether the conduct of the Protestants or

¹⁶ Chancery Court, *loc. cit.*; *Arch. Md.*, XIV, 165.

¹⁷ *Arch. Md.*, XXIII, 199 and *Arch. Md.*, XXXI, 210.

Papists in this Province hath been most unexceptionable since I have had the honour to serve your Lordship, I should not hesitate to give an answer in favor of the latter.”¹⁸

To Parson Chase an additional pleasure in being in Baltimore Town was the presence of his nephew Richard, an attorney and wealthy landowner. Richard's father, the Rev. Richard Chase, held parishes in Southern Maryland where lived, too, his other son, Jeremiah, a planter. The Rev. Richard had been chaplain to Lord Baltimore, a not too arduous assignment which led Commissary Henderson to report him to the Bishop of London as “a person of much levity and no learning.”¹⁹ The latter accusation might be refuted by the excellent library he owned. Richard, the lawyer, did not long survive his father and when he died in 1757 he left a large estate consisting of a wharf and property in Baltimore, a plantation in Charles County, lots in Annapolis and a claim to the peerage through his mother, Lady Margaret Frances Townley. As executors and guardians of his two orphan children he chose his uncle, the Rev. Thomas Chase, and a friend, the Rev. Hugh Dean, Rector of St. John's near Joppa. Both clergymen either refused to serve or did not comply with the law in giving assurance of settling the estate, for the the court appointed Dr. John Stevenson, a friend of Richard Chase's and a prominent citizen of Baltimore in their stead.²⁰

Thomas Chase took his great-nephew, Jeremiah Townley Chase, into his household and treated him as his son. There was only seven years difference in the ages of the two boys, Samuel and Jeremiah, and the parson personally gave them the education he considered an English gentleman should have, starting with a good classical background. A teacher trained, he saw to it that they were well versed in Latin and Greek, history and literature. Though not in any sense a businessman he felt little Jere's education and board worth forty-five pounds a year which he took from his nephew's estate. He tried to make a home for the orphaned boy, seeing to his clothes and indulging him with dancing lessons and a fare rich in imported

¹⁸ *Arch. Md.*, IX, 317.

¹⁹ Rightmyer, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

²⁰ Balt. Co. Testamentary Proc. 37 f., 130, 236 *passim*. (1758), H. R.

chocolate. In his reports to the court Dr. Stevenson excused himself for delays, maintaining that he was constantly thwarted by Mr. Chase who moved into the deceased's Baltimore residence and took possession of the rent from the one in Annapolis. Thomas Chase, said Dr. Stevenson, had also kept Richard's books and papers and a gold watch, which he allowed Jere to use, and a gold seal which he had given to his son Sammy. Chase replied to this by accusing Stevenson of undue delays and offering to comply with the original terms of the will by joining with Mr. Dean in settling the estate. At one point, 1765, Stevenson had Chase "detained in person under custody of the sheriff." Chase employed Thomas Jenings, foremost lawyer in Maryland, as his counsel and won his release. But the wrangling continued from 1758 up until 1775, each litigant accusing the other of mismanagement.²¹ In the end the parson's actions were pretty well vindicated. Jeremiah, one day to become Chief Judge of the Maryland Court of Appeals, was always devoted to his great-uncle and to his cousin Samuel.

The town the two boys grew up in was walled completely around with a wooden fence. A few severe winters caused the palings to be broken down piece by piece for fire-wood. Part of the wall was close to St. Paul's church and the rector was one of the four largest contributors towards repairing the gaps. When the fence finally ceased to be a barrier, Mr. Chase saw to it that his vestry raised funds for surrounding the entire church property with a fine brick wall. In these early years a vestry house with tower and bell were also erected. The immediate churchyard held hitching posts for the horses and stocks for errant men, and beyond these signs of urban life spread the graveyard. The little church was made more imposing by its position on a steep hill overlooking city streets along the harbor and Jones' Falls valley.²²

As the turbulent Mr. Chase grew in years, so did his parish and his church work, and his importance in the burgeoning town. He had fewer reasons for stirring up controversy. He found a young second wife in the person of Ann Birch, "eldest

²¹ Chancery Court, D. D. # 2, f. 447. Prov. Court Judgments D. D. # 8, f. 19, 25. Chancery Court, # 13, f. 134 *passim*, H. R.

²² Scharf, *Chronicles*, p. 231.

daughter of Mr. Thomas Birch, Chirurgion and Man Midwife, in the town of Warwick, England." They were married by the Rev. William West of Harford County in St. Paul's church, July 19, 1763. Where or how they met is not recorded. Perhaps Chase had known Birch in his medical days. A formal letter from the mother of the bride, proof of her education and gentility, has been preserved. It reads in part:

The many Tokens of high Regard you have shown my Daughter demand my most grateful acknowledgements. I wish the jewel you have won may continue to appear bright in yr eyes as it always was in mine and may the Divine Being bless you both and grant you may enjoy many happy years in Health and Peace together. I think myself honourd Sir by being related to a Gent. of your good sense and character.²³

By this second wife Thomas Chase had five children, all more than twenty years younger than Sammy. These he educated at home as he had the two elder boys and found time as well to write an English grammar for girls. All in verse, it starts with a "Preface to the Ladies,"

Come Ladies lend some idle Hours;
This suits your Sex, as well as ours;
Your Author wrote, believe it true,
At once to please, and profit you;²⁴

The parson had a gift for verse and he put it to scholarly use when he made a translation of Silius Italicus' poem of the Second Punic War, written in the First Century. This, a most painstaking work with learned footnotes, unfortunately never found a publisher.

Of his ability in his chosen field little evidence survives. Francis Asbury, a rival and consequently not without bias, comments after meeting Chase at one of the Methodist revivals: "We had some conversation afterwards in which we did not disagree. But poor man! one more ignorant of the deep things of God, I have scarcely ever met with, of his cloth." But later when he returned Chase's visit he seems to have thought better of him. He says he heard Mr. Chase "deliver a good discourse

²³ Chase Home Papers, ms, Md. Hist. Soc.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

on retirement and private devotion, and much of attending on the Lord's days to hear Thomas Chase but for my part I see but little fruit." ²⁵ Ubiquitous and discerning John Adams when he came to attend a session of Congress in Baltimore, observed; "Besides the meeting-house (Presbyterian) there is upon this height a large and elegant Court House, as yet unfinished within and a small church of England in which an old clergyman officiates, Mr. Chase, father of Mr. Chase one of the delegates of Maryland, who, they say, is not so zealous a Whig as his son." ²⁶ If Thomas Chase's loyalty to the King was as strong as was that of most of his profession in this country, his admiration and love for his son was stronger. When the colonies were at the lowest military ebb in their struggle for independence and Sam was a leader of the rebellious Marylanders, the old parson took the oath of allegiance to the new government. ²⁷

Troubles descended upon the family in St. Paul's rectory. Ann Birch Chase died in 1772. In an exchange of letters with his in-laws in England the following year, Chase tells them that the same fever that carried off their daughter had taken little Tommy, aged eight. ²⁸ Thomas Chase was now left with a grown son practicing law in Annapolis and fast becoming a well-known figure in controversy and politics, and by four young children, one a newborn infant. With the coming of the Revolution all the money that could be raised was earmarked for the new government and for the army. Public support of the Established Church came to an end. A few voluntary contributions kept the church, no longer of England, barely alive. So Parson Chase, with no salary in sight and at the age of seventy-two, opened a school to support his family. Four years later the old man died, much lamented by his parishioners. One obituary says "he was a Gentleman of great Learning and Urbanity, a Divine of the orthodox Principles, whose Precepts and Examples reflected the highest Honour on his Head and Heart." Another stated that "he possessed fine natural abili-

²⁵ Francis Asbury, *Journal*, ed. E. T. Clark (Nashville, 1958), pp. 99, 111, 114, 228.

²⁶ John Adams, *Familiar Letters*, ed. C. F. Adams (Boston, 1876), p. 239.

²⁷ Oaths of Allegiance, Feb. 27, 1778, H. R., Annapolis.

²⁸ Thos. Chase to Mrs. Birch, Chase Home Papers, ms Md. Hist. Soc.

ties. In person handsome, noble and dignified in his manners, elegant, courteous and refined.”²⁹ The exuberance of his youth, the positiveness of his likes and dislikes, were forgotten; remembered only were his loyalty to friends, his family tenderness, his pastoral kindnesses.

Thomas Chase’s will, probated April 7, 1779, showed his confidence in his son, Samuel. To him he left all his possessions,—consisting of seven slaves, books, papers, money and furniture, for the use of the other four children, all under-age, Ann, Betty, George Russell Birch and Richard, “to be disposed of share and share alike,—except one magnifying glass, a small memorial for Samuel.” To these orphaned half brothers and sisters Samuel was to act as guardian until they were grown.

The only thing of value Samuel Chase inherited from his father was his character. He was fortunate in having a parent who could instill in him a love of the classics and a deep sense of personal religion combined with respect for the organized church. His love of people and politics, his audacity and violence in debate, were Chase traits. The father lived long enough to see his son chosen by his contemporaries to represent them in the Assembly and in the Continental Congress, and died in the knowledge that he had sired a man of importance to a new nation.

²⁹ Allen, “History of St. Paul’s Church.” *Maryland Journal & Baltimore Advertiser*, April 6, 1779.

MINING FOR COPPER AND RELATED MINERALS IN MARYLAND¹

By NANCY C. PEARRE

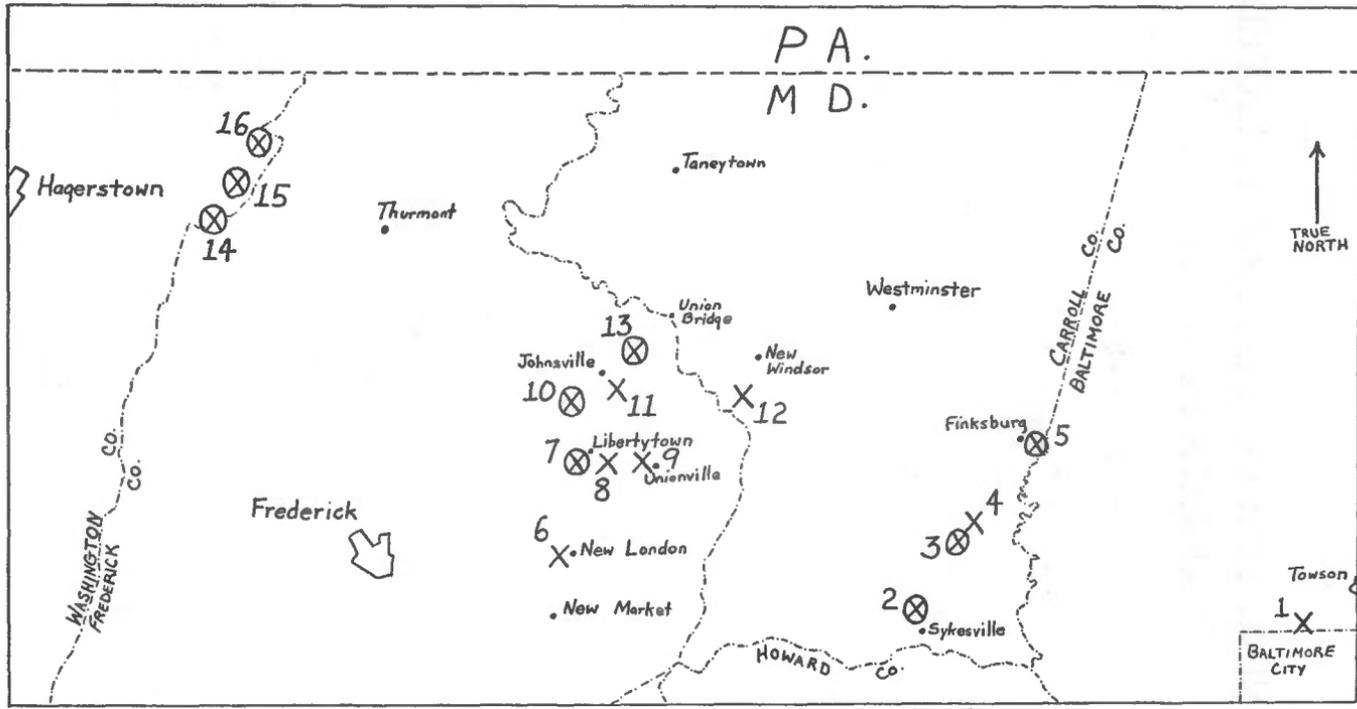
COPPER mining in Maryland began before the Revolutionary War and was successful intermittently until 1918. Several of the mines were large for their day and were important before exploitation of copper deposits in the Lake Superior region began in the mid-nineteenth century and before improved transportation facilities made richer, more remote western ores available to the big eastern cities. Extensive brush-covered workings, particularly at the Liberty and Mineral Hill mines, still attest the vigor and enthusiasm with which Maryland's mines were once operated.

Copper was not the only product of many of the mines. Substantial quantities of iron, lead, and zinc, and smaller quantities of silver and gold, were also produced, and cobalt was abundant enough in one group of deposits to excite considerable interest.

The deposits that have been mined are in the Linganore district in Frederick and western Carroll Counties, in the Sykesville district in eastern Carroll County, and at the Bare Hills in Baltimore County, and copper occurrences have been explored in places on South Mountain in Frederick and Washington Counties (Index map). The deposits occur either in

¹ Publication authorized by the Director, U. S. Geological Survey.

This paper is compiled from many sources but is particularly dependent on the previous work of G. H. Williams, *Maryland, Its Resources, Industries, and Institutions* (Baltimore, 1893), pp. 112-120; R. M. Overbeck, "A Metallographic Study of the Copper Ores of Maryland," *Econ. Geology*, XI (1916), pp. 151-178; and R. J. Robinson, "Maryland's 200-Year-Old Copper Industry," *Baltimore* (1939), pp. 23-30. Both Williams and Robinson include in their mining history many interesting details of the copper manufacturing industry in Maryland not touched on here, and Overbeck's work contains much additional geological detail. I am also greatly indebted to A. V. Heyl of the U. S. Geological Survey for his many suggestions and additions.



Scale: 0 5 10 15 20 Miles

INDEX MAP OF MARYLAND'S COPPER MINES

INDEX MAP OF MARYLAND'S COPPER MINES

Key

- × copper mine or prospect pit
 ⊗ 2 or more copper mines or prospects

1. Bare Hills (Vernon) mine

Sykesville district

2. Springfield mine, Carroll mine
 3. Monroe prospects, Beasman prospects
 4. Mineral Hill (Scott's) mine
 5. Patapsco mines

Linganore district

- | | |
|---|---|
| 6. New London mine | 10. Liberty mines |
| 7. Hammond prospects, Hines prospects | 11. Repp mine |
| 8. Dolly Hyde mine | 12. Roop mine |
| 9. Unionville mine | 13. CoxMtn. View mines, Eiler prospect |
| 14-16. South Mountain native copper prospects | |

 COVER PICTURE

THE BARE HILLS COPPER MINE

The mine was part of the Tyson mineral interests and was profitably worked until 1873. Attempts to operate it in the twentieth century failed. Located near the confluence of Old Pimlico and Falls Roads in Baltimore County, it was far from being the earliest in Maryland. In 1742 the Maryland Assembly passed an act for the encouragement of a copper mine operated in Baltimore County by John Digges. The lithograph dates *ca.* 1870. Schmidt & Trowe appears in the Baltimore City Directories between 1864 and 1884.

schistose rocks of igneous origin or in marble closely associated with schistose rocks, most of which are of igneous origin.

In the Linganore district (Index map, nos. 6 to 13), concentrations of the copper sulfide minerals bornite, chalcopyrite, and chalcocite are found in narrow bands and irregular patches of marble, dolomite, and limestone, which are interbedded or tightly infolded with schistose acidic and basic lavas, tuffs, and metamorphosed sedimentary slates. Minerals of lead and zinc are commonly associated with the copper minerals, and at a few deposits they are abundant enough to have been the major object of mining. Silver and a very little gold were byproducts at several of the mines. Included in the Linganore district are three mines that are locally well known—the Liberty, New London, and Dolly Hyde—and also the Repp and Roop mines, the Unionville (Pearre) zinc mine, the Cox group of mines, including the Mountain View lead mine, and the Hammond (Pittinger), Hines, and Eiler prospects. The district is named for Linganore Creek, which drains its southern part.

In the Sykesville district (Index map, nos. 2 to 5), the igneous rocks contain the ore minerals; they are altered basic and ultrabasic intrusive rocks that crop out in a long, narrow zone. The ore consists principally of chalcopyrite, some bornite, and chalcocite, intimately associated with the iron minerals magnetite and hematite to such an extent that the mines produced iron as well as copper. Small quantities of cobalt minerals and traces of nickel, zinc, and native gold are also notable in the Sykesville ore. The Springfield, Carroll, Mineral Hill, and Patapsco mines and the Beasman and Monroe prospects constitute the Sykesville copper-iron district.

The Bare Hills deposit (Index map, no. 1; cover) is similar in many ways to the deposits at Sykesville, but hematite and the cobalt minerals are absent. Although the mine is not known to have produced iron ore, the quantity of magnetite remaining on its dump suggests that iron was abundant enough to have been a byproduct of copper mining.

In places on South Mountain (Index map, nos. 14-16), local concentrations of native copper as small grains, wires, and lumps occur in altered volcanic rocks that originated as lava flows. Associated with the native copper are malachite and

azurite, the green and blue carbonates of copper, and cuprite, the oxide of copper. These deposits were explored to a limited extent between 1805 and 1810 and evoked considerable enthusiasm—at least in local newspapers—about 1865. Several expensive attempts were later made to mine them, particularly just across the Pennsylvania-Maryland line near Blue Ridge Summit, Pa., but all were failures.

Small amounts of disseminated malachite and chalcocite occur in the red sandstone and shale of Triassic age along Little Pipe Creek about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles west of Union Bridge, Carroll County, and near Taneytown. The occurrences were extensively prospected in the early part of the nineteenth century but no deposits of commercial size were found.²

How much copper Maryland's mines produced will undoubtedly never be known. Fragmentary records exist of a few years' production from each of them, but of many more years' production we know nothing. Nearly complete estimates have been published only for the Bare Hills mine, which reportedly produced more than 5,800 tons of metallic copper valued at \$1,755,000, and the Dolly Hyde mine, to which is attributed a total of 58 short tons of metallic copper valued at \$23,000. A minimum estimate³ for the Liberty mine is 6,000 tons of metallic copper—close to \$2,000,000 in value. At least one of the other mines—the Mineral Hill—was a large producer, probably comparable to or larger than the Bare Hills mine, and at least two others—the Springfield and New London—were certainly very much larger than the Dolly Hyde. The sum of all the fragments of recorded production, including the estimates for the Bare Hills, Dolly Hyde, and Liberty mines and very incomplete figures for the Mineral Hill, Springfield, New London, and Patapsco mines, is more than 13,000 tons of metallic copper, the value of which is estimated as more than \$4,100,000. This sum represents only a small percentage of Maryland's total copper production.

The discovery of copper ore in Maryland was reported to

² J. T. Ducatel, *Annual Report of the Geologist of Maryland, 1839* (Annapolis, 1840), p. 34.

³ Based on estimated 300,000 tons of rock mined before 1900, and a reported average grade of 2 percent copper. Estimate made by A. V. Heyl from known size of underground workings.

Lord Baltimore in 1722, but a report made in 1748 by the Governor and Council to the Board of Trade of London stated, "Of the several attempts that have been made to discover veins of that metal none has yet been made that quitted cost." ⁴ Probably not long after this was written a group of English miners opened two copper mines, one in Frederick County and one in Carroll County, and built a small furnace at "Deer Park" in Carroll County, where ore from both mines was smelted. The mine in Carroll County later became known as Mineral Hill but was apparently operated as "Scott's mine" during this early period. Its sister workings in Frederick County are generally thought to have been the Liberty mines, but conflicting reports of the history of the Liberty mines somewhat later in the century, plus a note that the English operations were near the town of Union Bridge, suggest that this location may have been the little-known and apparently very old Cox group of mines instead, or the Repp mine, which was reportedly worked before the Revolution. In 1760 both operations were managed by Herman Husband and the smelter at Deer Park, about a mile and a half northeast of Scott's mine, was known as the "Fountain Copper Works." ⁵

All reports indicate that these two mines were very productive until the outbreak of the American Revolution, when the owners returned to England and their property was confiscated. Late in 1786 there was advertised "to be let" a copper mine "that has been wrought and very valuable ore extracted," about 22 miles from Baltimore, and a similar advertisement in 1791 mentioned Scott's mine near Deer Park. ⁶ Apparently Scott's mine was virtually forgotten for more than half a century thereafter. Little is known of the Cox mines until 1890; some of the workings show signs of a later period of activity, but others are obviously very old and have been abandoned long enough to allow huge hardwood trees to grow in the pits and on the dumps. No records of the Repp mine are available, although it appears to have been operated on a fairly large scale relatively recently, either late in the nineteenth century or early in the twentieth.

⁴ Williams in *Resources*, p. 112.

⁵ Robinson, "Copper Industry," p. 24.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

Another copper mine was opened in Maryland in 1765, when Dr. John Stevenson of Baltimore entered into a partnership with Stephen Richards to mine copper on the "Spring-Garden tract" in Frederick County. Under the management of James Smith, their Liberty mine was not at first successful, but in 1767 some ore was shipped to London, and just before the outbreak of the Revolutionary War "much ore" was shipped.⁷ In 1779 and 1780 the property was advertised for sale but not sold. The following year Stevenson hired Adam Stanger to manage his copper works, and Stanger had a furnace, refinery, and rolling mill built at Deer Park. Although not definitely stated in the literature, it seems probable that Stevenson and Stanger acquired the furnace of the pre-war "Fountain Copper Works" and enlarged the plant. "Many wagonloads" of ore from Liberty went thereafter to Stevenson's Copper Works at Deer Park, and during the closing years of the war the Liberty mine was claimed as the largest single producer of copper in North America.⁸ The large open pits in the northern part of the mine property are reputed to date from this early period. Mining apparently was stopped after the war.

During the formative years of the new American nation and on into the first decades of the nineteenth century little interest in the copper deposits was recorded, aside from some prospecting in the South Mountain area. An obscure reference in 1807 to the occurrence of malachite and chalcocite at Wescott's copper mine⁹ near Baltimore suggests that there may have been some activity at one of the old mines; if so, it was probably limited to diggings in loose surface material.

By 1833 the Liberty mine area and other localities near Libertytown were supplying a copper sulfate industry in Baltimore with its raw material in the form of black soil containing 5 to 20 percent copper (as malachite and chalcocite), some manganese, and iron. Annual production of copper sulfate from this material in the 1830's was greater than 50,000 pounds;

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ James Mease, *A Geological Account of the United States . . .* (Philadelphia, 1807), pp. 417-418. This is probably the Liberty mine. About 1800 George Wescott owned part of a property in Frederick County that formerly belonged to Dr. Stevenson, on which mines were located.

the product in 1833 was valued at \$5,000, of which \$4,000 represented exports.¹⁰

No ore was being mined for production of metallic copper in 1833, but a geological survey of the State was focusing attention on the area where former extensive operations for copper had been carried on "with great industry to a considerable extent." Despite the pre-war success of the Liberty mine, a field examination in the vicinity led the State Geologist to conclude:

. . . Operations have thus far been carried on in straggling veins only; while the main body of the ore, whose existence is hardly to be doubted, has not yet been reached.¹¹

Shortly after Ducatel wrote this, mining for copper metal was revived, not at the Liberty mine but 6 miles south of it at New London, by a successful Baltimore mining magnate, Isaac Tyson, Jr. Tyson has been credited with discovery of the copper deposit on William Hobbs' property about 1835, but his lease¹² with Hobbs, dated November 1836, refers to the property as the "tract called Drum mine," suggesting that the deposit was known if not prospected prior to Tyson's interest.

The New London mine was opened on the Hobbs' property by Tyson in 1837. Two years later the shaft was 114 feet deep, two underground levels totalled 67 feet in length, and 22 workers were employed at the mine.¹³ The ore was sorted by hand, crushed and washed on the premises, then sent to a smelter. Tyson worked the New London mine steadily and profitably for a number of years thereafter. By 1853, however, the mine was idle, and by 1855 Tyson had sold it.

In 1838 Tyson acquired a half interest in the old Liberty mines. He and Evan T. Ellicott built a small furnace half a mile north of the mines near a stream fork, to smelt both the Liberty and New London ores, together with an inferior grade ore from Pennsylvania. The furnace was short-lived, according to a prospectus published in 1864:

¹⁰ J. T. Ducatel and J. H. Alexander, "Report on a Projected Geological and Topographical Survey of the State of Maryland," *Am. Jour. Sci.*, 1st ser, XXVII (1834), p. 23 and map.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

¹² Tyson's Record Book, fol. 215, Md. Hist. Soc.

¹³ Ducatel, *Annual Report, 1839*, p. 22.

. . . The stagnation in all manufacturing enterprizes at the time (1839), together with the low price of copper, then 17 cents, now 42 cents, the great difficulty and expense of transportation to a distant market . . . compelled them to abandon these works.¹⁴

The degree of Tyson's success in working the Liberty mines is not known. He apparently operated the "Old Workings" on the west side of the tract and may have driven the half-mile drainage tunnel, which was completed before 1840. His leases covered most of the adjoining properties and were reportedly retained by him until his death in 1861, whereas he sold his other holdings in the Linganore district in the mid-1850's, when his copper mines near Sykesville proved more productive.

The Dolly Hyde mine, southeast of Libertytown along Dollyhyde Creek (spelled "Dolohide" in older literature), was opened in 1839 by Richard M. Coale and Company¹⁵ as a group of shallow diggings in dark-brown copper-rich soil similar to that at the Liberty mine. Washed concentrates produced from this near-surface material were described as almost two-thirds malachite (green copper carbonate) by weight, mixed with iron and manganese minerals and some chalcocite; the metallic copper content of the concentrates was estimated as 25 to 30 percent.¹⁶ During 1840 Coale's company sold between 60 and 80 tons of such concentrates for \$60 a ton. Production ceased about the end of 1842.

In 1846 the Dolly Hyde mine was leased by Isaac Tyson, Jr., who reactivated it and reported small but successful production until 1853, when he sold it to the Dolly Hyde Copper Company. Visitors to the mine between 1839 and 1854 wrote enthusiastically about it—the State Geologist¹⁷ in 1839, C. T. Jackson¹⁸ in 1846 and again in 1853, a visiting German geologist¹⁹ about 1850, and the State Agricultural Chemist²⁰ later

¹⁴ Quoted by T. J. C. Williams and Folger McKinsey, *History of Frederick County, Md.* (Hagerstown, 1910), I, p. 276.

¹⁵ The articles of agreement on formation of this company are in fol. 54-66 of Tyson Record Book. Other partners in the company were William Coale, James Coale, Thomas Sappington, and Jacob Fox.

¹⁶ Ducatel, *Annual Report, 1840*, p. 46.

¹⁷ Ducatel, *Annual Report, 1839*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁸ *Mining Magazine*, I (1853), pp. 476-480.

¹⁹ Otto Dieffenbach, "Bemerkunge ueber den Kupferbergbau in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika," *Berg- und Hütt. Zeit.* (Leipzig, 1858), p. 67.

²⁰ P. T. Tyson, *First Report of the State Agricultural Chemist to the House of Delegates of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1860), appendix, p. 16.

in the 1850's. In June of 1854 the mine was about to reach a regular production rate of more than 100 tons of good ore per month, and development work on the west side of the creek satisfied the "most sanguine expectations" of the owners.²¹

The Dolly Hyde Company had announced²² that the main "vein" was not the one worked by Isaac Tyson but another, discovered and developed by the company. The State Agricultural Chemist, however, had this to say about the mine:

When I saw the Dolohyde mine in operation, the captain (an Englishman) thought he was working a vein, and of course wasted money by endeavoring to trace its prolongations. I told the parties by whom I was consulted, that it was a *contact mass*, and that the ore was to be sought for by working in the outer edge of the isolated mass of limestone . . . and by resolutely sinking downwards. I also stated that . . . the *false vein* they were then working, . . . although it contained a large proportion of rich ore, would not extend horizontally 100 yards. And such was the result.²³

Nevertheless, in "resolutely sinking downwards" next to a creek, the Dolly Hyde Copper Company was drowned out in 1855, and, despite earlier enthusiasm, the mine has never again been returned to productive status.

The Frederick County Mining Company, formed in 1853 and chartered in 1854, leased mineral rights on properties southwest of Libertytown, including the Hammond and Hines farms (Index map, no. 7). They reportedly shipped no ore. Dark-brown copper-bearing soil similar to that at the Liberty and Dolly Hyde mines is notably abundant at one group of prospect pits on the Hammond farm²⁴ and at two groups of pits on the Hines farm and may have been a main inducement to prospecting. This surface copper ore was recognized on the Hammond farm as early as 1839,²⁵ and may have been dug there before 1853 for use in the copper sulfate industry.

²¹ *Mining Magazine*, II (1854), 677.

²² *Ibid.*, I, 74.

²³ Tyson, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁴ Maryland, Board of Natural Resources, *The Physical Features of Carroll County and Frederick County*, "Mineral Resources of Carroll and Frederick Counties" by Joseph T. Singewald, Jr. (Baltimore, 1946), p. 158 (Hereafter *Physical Features*).

²⁵ Ducatel, *Annual Report, 1839*, p. 23.

After 1839 copper mining activities were not confined to the Linganore district. Copper was discovered at the Bare Hills north of Baltimore City about 1839 on the land of Thomas B. Watts, and further exploratory work was recommended by the State Geologist.²⁶ In 1844 a mining engineer, Thomas Petherick, obtained the ore rights under a 21-year Cornish lease²⁷ but soon sold the lease to Isaac Tyson, Jr. The following year Watts, ignoring the Petherick lease, contracted with Samuel Davis to mine the deposit for 5 years, and Davis sold Tyson a half interest in his mine in return for financial backing. Tyson reserved the right to withdraw if results were unsatisfactory, which they were not. When the Davis contract expired, Tyson tried to hold the mine under the Petherick lease but lost ownership after a long and locally famous lawsuit.²⁸ After about 1850 the Bare Hills mine was worked by others, although with little financial success until the mid-1860's.

During the years when copper mining was being revived in Maryland, "Scott's mine" in eastern Carroll County seems to have remained forgotten. Ducatel makes no mention of it in his annual reports and apparently was unaware of its existence. Credit for its reopening in 1849 goes to Isaac Tyson, Jr. In the same year Tyson opened the Springfield iron mine on George Patterson's farm $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles southwest of Scott's mine, and possibly he was first attracted to Scott's mine by its iron rather than its copper content. The name "Mineral Hill," by which Scott's mine is more commonly known, probably dates from the beginning of Tyson's interest.

Tyson continued to work the Mineral Hill mine successfully for both copper and iron until his death in 1861, sending the copper ore to a smelter in Baltimore and the iron ore to the Elba furnace, which his son James had built in 1847 on the north bank of the Patapsco River about a mile southeast of Sykesville. This was a steam and water charcoal furnace that

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²⁷ The Cornish lease, from which present-day leases have derived, provided a token payment to the lessor to bind the agreement, plus a percentage of the gross value of the ore produced, but neither required nor guaranteed that there would be production.

²⁸ Williams in *Physical Features*, p. 114.

used iron ores from Frederick and Howard Counties as well as from the Springfield and Mineral Hill mines until a flood in 1868 permanently ended its activity. During 1857 the Elba furnace produced 965 tons of car wheel iron from these Maryland ores.²⁹

With depth the Springfield iron mine developed into a copper mine. Tyson's lease was revised in 1852 to include copper rights as well as iron rights. By 1855 the quantity of chalcopyrite had so increased that the mine was no longer considered an iron mine, so Tyson organized the Springfield Copper Company, transferring to it machinery from the defunct Dolly Hyde mine in Frederick County. The Springfield mine was reported to be unusually profitable from 1849 until 1869, when the original lease expired.³⁰ Tyson's heirs could not arrange a renewal with the owners, so they mined ore they had left in supporting pillars and permitted the mine to cave.³¹

Up to 1861 the Springfield mine produced more than 4,000 tons of copper ore that averaged 13 to 16 percent metallic copper. The rate of production increased steadily each year until 1861 and reportedly continued to increase thereafter until the mine closed. The main shaft is said to have reached a depth of 1,400 feet (on an incline); another shaft was begun in 1857 north of the main workings in a newly leased deposit of bornite.

A smaller mine, the Carroll, northeast of the Springfield mine, was reportedly operated in the 1840's and again in the 1850's, with little success.³² Possibly opened as an iron mine, it was known as a copper mine in the mid-1850's. This may be the mine referred to by some writers as the "Florence vein."

Father north, the Monroe property (Index map, no. 3) was prospected extensively by Tyson about 1858. No ore was shipped.

Another group of mines was worked in the Sykesville district during this period. The Patapsco copper mines near Finksburg (Index map, no. 5) were begun in 1849 by Edward Remington and the Patapsco Mining Company. The southern or Wildesen

²⁹ J. P. Lesley, *The Iron Manufacturers Guide to the Furnaces, Forges and Rolling Mills of the U. S.* (New York, 1859), p. 50.

³⁰ Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

³¹ Williams in *Physical Features*, p. 113.

³² *Ibid.*, Singewald, p. 159.

mine was opened first; the northern or Orchard mine was started in 1851. Soon afterward, a small percentage of rare cobalt-bearing minerals and traces of nickel were discovered in the copper-iron ore at the Patapsco mines and elsewhere in the Sykesville district. These minerals excited much attention and also some controversy among mineralogists and miners. One mineral, a copper-bearing cobalt sulfide, was first described from the Patapsco mines and was named carrollite from its occurrence in Carroll County.³³ The Patapsco Mining Company was reorganized in 1852 as the Patapsco Copper and Cobalt Mining Company; however, the quantity of cobalt, although reported to be increasing with depth in the Wildesen mine, was apparently not sufficient to be commercial and the company lost money trying to exploit it. Furnaces to separate the cobalt from the copper were built but never used; the copper-iron ore reportedly decreased with depth, and the mines were closed in 1858 for financial reasons.³⁴

There was a relative lull in copper mining in Maryland in 1859, during which only the Sykesville mines seem to have had significant production. The Springfield mine was producing and the Mineral Hill mine was open if not producing. The following year, however, saw renewed interest in several of the other mines. Between 1860 and 1865 the Maryland Copper Company of Baltimore worked one or both of the Patapsco mines. The Bare Hills mine was reopened in 1860 after a period of idleness, but the owners spent the next few years in extensive development work, producing only enough ore to pay their expenses. The New London mine was briefly reopened and examined late in 1860 and was prepared for production, but it closed when the Civil War started in 1861.

Isaac Tyson died in 1861. In 1864 the Mineral Hill property was transferred to the Mineral Hill Mining Company of Baltimore, which was managed by Tyson's sons, but after 1877 the company was able to continue operations intermittently only with financial aid from more solvent Tyson-estate corporations. In 1870 the company employed seven workers at the mine and

³³ W. L. Faber, "On Carrollite, a New Cobalt Mineral," *Am. Jour. Sci.*, 2d ser., XIII (1852), pp. 418-419.

³⁴ Williams in *Resources*, pp. 113-114.

produced \$6,500-worth of copper ore, but in 1880 six workers were paid \$1,500 to produce \$1,200-worth of ore.³⁵ The debt of the Mineral Hill Mining Company mounted steadily during the 1880's until about 1890 or 1891 the mine was closed, although reportedly not abandoned.³⁶ No further production is recorded, and by 1893 the company had virtually ceased to exist. In the 1950's part of the old Mineral Hill mine was flooded by the Liberty Lake reservoir.

In 1864 copper prices were high and consequently several of the dormant eastern mines were reopened. The New Burra Copper Company was organized by an English miner, George Trenwith, to work the former Carroll mine. This company published a prospectus and did some prospecting in 1865. Its subsequent history is not known. Farther to the northeast, the Beasman property (Index map, no. 3) was extensively prospected at the same time, but no ore was produced.

The year 1864 began the most productive era of the Bare Hills copper mine. At that time William H. Keener, who as a stockholder had purchased a controlling interest in the mine in 1858, became president of the Bare Hills Copper Mining Company, incorporated in 1860. Mining for several years after 1864 was on a large scale, and improvements were made in the plant and ore dressing equipment. All the ore was smelted at the Baltimore Copper Works. A flood in 1868 halted operations for a while, after which mining continued intermittently until about 1889. The Bare Hills Company was succeeded after 1873 by the Vernon Mining Company. H. C. Moore³⁷ recounts detailed information from former miners about mining conditions at the Bare Hills mine during the late 1860's and the 1880's.

In 1864 the Liberty Copper Mining Company acquired the Liberty property from Tyson's executors, and for at least a part of the next decade the Liberty mines were worked vigorously, on a very large scale for that time. During the census year 1870, for example, 65 men were employed at the mines and

³⁵ *U. S. Ninth Census, 1870*, p. 762; *U. S. Tenth Census, 1886*, XV, pp. 798, 977.

³⁶ Williams, *Physical Features*, p. 113.

³⁷ *Bull. Md. Nat. History Soc.*, V, no. 9 (1935), pp. 49-57.

\$65,000-worth of copper ore was produced from them.³⁸ The "new workings" on the east side of the property were probably opened and developed during this period, and one of the three large gravity concentration mills that operated on the property was probably erected at this time. An atlas published in 1873³⁹ shows numerous buildings labelled "Copper Mine Company," suggesting continued activity. In the mid-1870's, however, the property was sold. Work was continued intermittently until 1885 by different companies, including Pope, Cole and Co. of Baltimore and, after 1878, the Maryland Copper Mining Company.

Also in 1864, an enthusiastic prospectus of the New London Copper Mining Company was published in Philadelphia. This company planned to produce marketable concentrates from low-grade material that had been mined and discarded by Tyson and to continue mining operations. Results are unknown. On the Frederick County atlas of 1873 the mine and company buildings are located, suggesting some degree of activity in the early 1870's. The *Frederick Daily News* announced in 1884 that the New London mine was being reactivated after a long period of idleness, and subsequent issues indicate a certain amount of success. A Mr. Kotchendeffer was in charge of operations. The owners reportedly became involved in litigation and the property was idle again after about 1888.⁴⁰

Another small copper deposit in the Linganore district south of New Windsor was worked briefly during 1879 and 1880. This deposit was discovered in the Roop limestone quarry. It was prospected and a small quantity of ore from the quarry and from shallow shafts in nearby fields was sent to Pope, Cole and Company in Baltimore, but the deposit failed to meet expectations and work was soon discontinued.⁴¹

The Unionville zinc mine was opened in 1879 on the T. O. Pearre farm about three-quarters of a mile west of Unionville.

³⁸ *U. S. Ninth Census*, 1870, p. 762.

³⁹ *Atlas of Frederick County, Md.* (Phila., 1873),

⁴⁰ *Copper Handbook*, 1903, IV (1904), p. 542.

⁴¹ Persifer Frazer, "Some Copper Deposits of Carroll Co., Md.," *Trans. American Institute of Mining Engineers*, IX (1881), pp. 33-40; Herbert Bangs, "The A. A. Roop Copper Mine," *Maryland, A Journal of Natural History*, XVI (July, 1946), pp. 61-63.

It was worked briefly by W. A. Ingham of Philadelphia and William Lilly, who reported that they had as many as 10 miners employed underground and produced 672 tons of zinc carbonate ore, valued at \$7,200, and 2 tons of "other ores" (copper) during the census year 1880.⁴² The mine was apparently closed the following year.

In 1880 the Carroll and Springfield mines in the Sykesville district were reopened briefly as the Springfield iron mine. One of the former Carroll mine shafts, about 100 feet deep, was sampled by Reed, Stickney and Company of Baltimore, and some magnetite ore from it was shipped to Pittsburgh; a shaft one-half mile south of it, at the old Springfield mine, was being reopened by the same company in 1880 but was reportedly "rather inaccessible"⁴³ and may not have actually produced ore at this time. One of the Patapsco mines was also worked again for iron during 1880 and for a few years thereafter.⁴⁴ Of all the mines in the Sykesville district, only the Mineral Hill mine produced copper as well as iron in 1880, and after it finally closed in 1890, no further efforts to mine copper in the district were made.

The only other mining activity in the Sykesville district of which a record has been found was in 1916, when the Springfield deposit was worked as a large open cut to produce specular hematite-quartz ore. The ore was used in Baltimore by the Shawinigan Electropducts Company for the manufacture of ferro-silicon.⁴⁵

In 1890 mining began in a deposit of lead, zinc, and copper ores that had long been known to exist in the Linganore district. The Mountain View mine is part of a group of workings on the Cox farm, near the two Dunkard churches $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles northeast of Johnsville. Work was done on a small scale and was discontinued before 1893. The lead ore was reportedly hand-sorted and shipped and the zinc ore thrown on the dump as useless. A report that the mine was worked again briefly about 1910 suggests that marketable zinc ore may later have been culled from the dump.

⁴² *U. S. Tenth Census*, XV (1886), pp. 806, 978.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 257-258.

⁴⁴ Singewald, in *Physical Features*, p. 158.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

Several attempts to reopen the Bare Hills mine were made early in the twentieth century. The Mount Washington Copper Company, which was formed about 1900, pumped out the mine, installed new machinery, and shipped six carloads of copper ore to a smelting company in New Jersey; however, the operations were unprofitable. In 1905 Herbert Brown was preparing to unwater and work the Bare Hills mine again, and in 1907 F. R. Antwerp planned to install mining equipment on the property. Apparently these ventures were also unsuccessful.

Otherwise, mining and exploration for copper in Maryland since 1900 has been confined to the Linganore district. Several attempts to produce ore from the Liberty mines and the New London mine resulted in brief periods of success; others failed completely.

About 1900 the Liberty Copper Mining and Milling Company planned to rework the Liberty mines. A surveyed map of the former workings made at this time indicates that a total of about 300,000 tons of ore and rock had been mined during previous periods of activity. The company did some diamond drilling and late in 1901 completed a concentrating mill on the southwest part of the mine tract, but in 1903 the property was sold in receivership, and indications are that the workings had caved.

During 1905 the Virginia Consolidated Copper Company obtained a little copper by reworking the Liberty mine dumps, and made plans to reopen the caved mine. Concentrates produced by this company during development and experimental work were sold in 1907, but no activity was reported in 1908 and the Virginia Consolidated Company was thereafter considered "moribund."⁴⁶ In 1916 and 1917 J. Labaw and L. Vogelstein produced copper by reworking the tailings or mill waste from former operations. They apparently used a 150-ton mill on the northeast part of the property.

At the New London mine, E. S. Wertz unwatered and re-timbered the shaft in 1903-1904 but mined no ore, reportedly because the steam boilers blew up. The Linganore Copper Company leased both the New London mine and the nearby

⁴⁶ *Copper Handbook*, VIII (1908), p. 1401.

Dolly Hyde mine in 1907, cleaned out the New London mine and hand-sorted some ore in 1908, shipped some ore in 1909, and bought the property in 1910. The following year they completed a 100-ton concentrating mill to prepare the ore for market, and they shipped copper concentrates carrying a small amount of silver. The mill proved inadequate and more equipment subsequently had to be installed to treat the fines from it. In 1913 the mine was idle. The Linganore Copper Company merged with the Eagle Metallic Copper Company of Charman, Pa., to form the United Mining, Milling and Copper Smelting Company, which continued to work the New London mine through 1917. Mr. Charles Cashour of New London reports that the mine operated without loss during this period and was closed because the manager died. The shaft was deepened to 500 feet and the underground workings were extended. The Linganore Company also began to retimber the Dolly Hyde mine, only to abandon it again before mining any ore. According to Mr. Cashour, they did a little work at the Repp mine.

Metallic copper produced from the New London and Liberty mines between 1907 and 1917 amounted to more than 300 tons. Most of that from Liberty was obtained by reworking the mill waste from previous mining, whereas that from New London was actually mined from the underground stopes.

No copper has been produced in Maryland since 1917, but exploration has continued intermittently. The Linganore district was re-examined about 1941 by L. A. Baumgardner and E. R. Gill, Jr., who sampled dump material at the mines and prospected to some extent in the vicinity of the known mines. They briefly reopened the Repp and Mountain View mines for examination. The Eiler prospect, which dates from this time, showed lead-zinc-copper minerals similar to those at the Mountain View mine but insufficient to warrant mining.

During the summer of 1954 the American Smelting and Refining Company secured options on about 1,200 acres of land in the eastern part of Frederick County, including the Liberty, Unionville, and New London mine properties. Exploratory drilling was based on a method of prospecting that has been developed only in comparatively recent years—a geochemical

method that involves testing the composition of soils for indications of what is beneath them. The drilling was discontinued when results proved disappointing.

Exploratory drilling in 1956 on the Dolly Hyde mine property failed to encounter ore. This work was done by the Parker Mining and Development Company of Paeonian Springs, Va.

CONCLUSIONS

Economically, Maryland's production of metallic minerals has always been much less significant than her production of non-metallic mineral commodities such as stone and lime. Despite this, Maryland was apparently an important copper-producing state during the latter part of the eighteenth century and again during the 1830's and 1840's. Her importance declined considerably in the mid-1840's, when large copper deposits began to be mined in the Lake Superior region, but her mines continued to produce ore until about 1890. An important copper-smelting industry grew up in Baltimore during this period.

As large, rich copper deposits in our West became readily available to the big eastern cities, and even cheap foreign ores could be easily imported to eastern smelters, small mines like those in Maryland could no longer compete in the copper market. However, the smelting industry, already well-established in Baltimore, continued to thrive without local ores—as, indeed, it does today.

Small production of copper in the Linganore district from 1900 until 1918 was insignificant, except under the abnormal conditions produced by World War I. Nevertheless, interest in the copper deposits in Maryland has continued and may be expected to continue intermittently, with the development of new prospecting techniques and with future increases in the value of metallic ores. Whether or not these deposits will ever actually be mined again it is impossible to predict, because of changing economic conditions and mining techniques. Further prospecting on some of the more promising deposits may be warranted during favorable economic periods.

CONFEDERATE MILITARY INTELLIGENCE

By H. V. CANAN

COMMANDERS during the Civil War had many ways of securing military intelligence. Spies and scouts; cavalry and infantry patrols; outposts and pickets; reconnaissance, including reconnaissance in force; observation from fixed points, signal stations, and balloons; enemy newspapers; intercepting and deciphering enemy messages; captured documents and letters; and questioning prisoners of war, deserters, informers, and friendly civilians made up the backbone of the intelligence systems. Topographical engineers were also an important source of military information but space will not permit a discussion of them or of maps which were one of the most important of intelligence documents.

The burning of the Confederate Secret Service records at the evacuation of Richmond has made research on Confederate military intelligence difficult. Possible Union reprisals after the war against Confederate intelligence operators kept much information on Confederate military intelligence from appearing in print.¹ President Davis, until his death and with all the power of persuasion he had, resisted publication of any information on Confederate intelligence activities.² Yet, from close examination of memoirs, books, papers in the Library of Congress and records in the National Archives a fairly complete picture of Confederate military intelligence can be assembled.

CONDITIONS BEFORE THE WAR

There is little evidence that anyone in the Federal War Department was much concerned about military intelligence be-

¹ Charles E. Taylor, *The Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States* (North Carolina Booklet, II, 1903), pp. 17, 24.

² James D. Horan, *Confederate Agent* (New York, 1954), p. 23.

fore the war. No separate bureau was set up in any staff division to handle it. Efforts to gather military intelligence were haphazard and, if anything was accomplished, it was in the office of the Adjutant General.

It had been customary in past wars for commanders to handle intelligence matters and the tendency to personalize military intelligence was carried into the Civil War. While some officers allowed their Provost Marshals to handle aspects of it, commanders were usually their own intelligence officers. This led President Davis, who had past Mexican War experience, to take a hand in it occasionally.

There are good reasons why little was known on the subject of military intelligence. In 1861, there were very few manuals and practically nothing had been printed on the subject. The 1857 Army Regulation with which the war was fought by both sides carried some information on outposts, exterior guards, reconnaissance, partisans, prisoners of war, march security, etc. A few authors, such as Mahan, came closest to supplying the need for information in privately printed books but even these were inadequate. Bad as was the situation in the North, the Confederacy was worse prepared. It started with no manuals. But it quickly adapted and printed existing Federal regulations and manuals to fit the Confederate service.

EFFORTS AT THE OUTBREAK OF WAR

When the Confederate Government organized its War Department, it made no provision for an intelligence organization as part of the General Staff, although it did so about a year later when it formed the Signal Bureau.³ Information on plans and movements of Union forces was first secured from Northern newspapers and private letters. It was soon found that these sources were not infallible as much was not reported or was reported erroneously.

Fortunately for the cause of the Confederacy, a few individuals took early steps to provide for authentic information trickling into the Confederate Army. Lt. Col. (later Brig. Gen.) Thomas Jordan, Assistant Adjutant General and later

³ Douglas Southall Freeman, *R. E. Lee, A Biography* (New York, 1934), I, 488.

Chief of Staff for General Beauregard, filled the early need for intelligence for the army operating near Washington. He laid the groundwork for a Confederate espionage system in the Northern Capital.⁴

Jordan was stationed in Washington in early 1861 as a lieutenant in the United States Army. Before resigning and going South, he enlisted Mrs. Rose O'Neil Greenhow and others as spies for the Confederacy. Except where they were to work with each other, Jordan's spies were not aware of the existence of the others. He furnished them with simple codes and instructed them how to communicate with him. He was known to his spies as Thomas John Rayford.⁵

Mrs. Greenhow was one of the more glamorous of his spies and furnished valuable information prior to the first Bull Run. Her information permitted General J. E. Johnston to evade Maj. Gen. Patterson and to join Beauregard in time for the battle. Although she was ultimately arrested by Union agents, she contrived to send information while imprisoned.⁶

COMBAT-INTELLIGENCE

Southerners seemed to have had a flair for military intelligence and they had the upper hand initially in securing information of the enemy. They were particularly outstanding in combat intelligence,—that intelligence obtained during contact with the enemy. Lee typified the best in Confederate combat intelligence and one of the attributes which made him a great military leader was his ability to interpret military intelligence reaching him.⁷

Spies were frequently used by the Confederates to secure combat intelligence. Many of them, especially the women such as Rose Greenhow, Belle Boyd, Nancy Hardy, and Ginnie

⁴ Harnett T. Kane, *Spies for the Blue and the Gray* (Garden City, 1954), pp. 14, 28.

⁵ *The War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (War Department, 1880), Series 2, Vol. II, pp. 561-577, 1308-1311, 1346-1351. (Hereafter cited as *O. R.* Unless otherwise specified, all references will be to Series 1); Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

⁶ *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (New York, 1890), I, 197; (Hereafter cited as *B. & L.*), Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 43.

⁷ *Photographic History of the Civil War* (New York, 1912), VIII, 288. (Hereafter cited as *P. H. C. W.*) Freeman, *Lee*, IV, 175.

Moon, have become fabulous characters in history. It was soon found that the paid or volunteer civilian spy, male or female, was often ineffective. Men from the armies were best at securing combat intelligence and were used more and more as spies. Among the better known spies with the armies were Longstreet's Harrison, Pemberton's Capt. Henderson, Jackson's Col. Turner Ashby and Farrow, Stuart's Mosby, Capt. Stringfellow, and Vespasian Chancellor, and Bragg's Capt. Shaw and Sam Davis. Some of these men were in charge of groups of spies but could not resist lone-wolf forays into the enemy lines.⁸ Much has been written about those spies who were of the type to catch the public fancy but little is available on many of those just named who did their tasks in a workmanlike manner and who were responsible for the day-to-day intelligence which filtered into the various headquarters.

Cavalry probably surpassed spies for securing military intelligence during combat and much of the Confederate success in securing combat intelligence can be attributed to its cavalry. The Confederacy was fortunate in having a large number of outstanding cavalry leaders including Stuart, Hampton, Wheeler, Forrest, and Morgan. Of these, Stuart was probably the greatest intelligence officer.

Stuart was constantly seeking information of the enemy. He believed in the cavalry mission which he viewed as requiring him to watch the enemy while keeping it from finding out what the Confederate troops were doing. He was constantly using his troopers on deceptive schemes, one of which had a decisive effect on the outcome of the Second Battle at Bull Run.⁹ He believed in secrecy of military operations and kept his movements secret by keeping reporters from his camps.¹⁰ When he was killed at the Battle of Yellow Tavern, the best eyes of the Army of Northern Virginia were lost and from then on its combat intelligence suffered. Lee indicated his high regard for Stuart's ability as an intelligence officer when he

⁸ Henry K. Douglas, *I Rode with Stonewall* (Chapel Hill, 1940), p. 51; William W. Hassler, *A. P. Hill: Lee's Forgotten General* (Richmond, 1947), p. 20; Kane, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 251-260; *P. H. C. W.*, VIII, 287, 292; G. Moxley Sorrel, *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer* (Jackson, Tenn., 1958), pp. 155, 175, 177.

⁹ W. W. Blackford, *War Years with Jeb Stuart* (New York, 1945), p. 127.

¹⁰ John W. Thompson, *Jeb Stuart* (New York, 1930), p. 321.

said upon notification of Stuart's death: "He never brought me a piece of false information."¹¹ Stuart had his faults but he set the pattern for the proper use of cavalry on intelligence missions.

NEWSPAPERS

The South was the first to see the value of enemy newspapers as a source of military intelligence, but newspapers were not an unmixed blessing because Southern papers also revealed so much that the Federals were soon using them extensively. Newspapers of both sides clearly went beyond the bounds permitted by freedom of the press. They were so careless that they imperiled the armies. In consequence, newspapers were a fruitful source of military intelligence. Had the Confederate commander at the first Bull Run battle had a personal representative on the staff of the Union commander, he scarcely could have had better information than was furnished him by the Northern press.¹²

When Bragg was commanding in the West in 1862, he subscribed to several Northern dailies in the name of a Confederate sympathizer in Elizabethtown, Ky., and had a line of scouts in relays to carry these papers to his headquarters each day.

Lee was an avid reader of the Northern press. He would get from the papers the composition of the Union armies and frequently an inkling of plans and movements. He used the New York and Philadelphia journals chiefly and feared the worst one time when the Union army held back its newspapers.¹³

Maj. William Norris of Maryland, head of the Confederate Signal and Secret Service Bureau, would await President Davis each morning with the latest Northern newspapers. A courier would arrive in Richmond each afternoon bringing newspapers from the principal cities of the North and Canada. Newspapers from Washington and Baltimore would be but a day old while those from New York and Philadelphia might be two days old. Newspapers were used for Confederate intelligence to a greater degree than most people have realized.¹⁴

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

¹² *New York Tribune*, July 8, 1861.

¹³ *Freeman Lee*, I, 488; *Lee's Confidential Dispatches to Jefferson Davis* (New York, 1957), pp. 241, 284. (Hereafter cited as *Lee's Dispatches*.)

¹⁴ E. P. Alexander, *Military Memoirs of a Confederate* (New York, 1917), p. 48; C. E. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 22; *Lee's Dispatches*, p. 362.

OBSERVATION—BALLOONS

It goes without saying that the Confederates used observation for combat intelligence. Although they would observe from signal stations, unlike the Union Army, they did not rely on signal officers for observation but depended on line officers. Balloons interested the Confederates as an observation platform but they had little success with them. In one of their first attempts in the fall of 1861, they obtained a balloon from a private source and attempted an ascension from Munson's Hill just south of Washington, but defective materials used in its construction prevented successful operation.¹⁵ The lack of a balloon forced them at this time to place increased emphasis on espionage.

Their next attempt in the same year was shortly before they withdrew from Yorktown during the Peninsula Campaign when a crude balloon appeared. Its aeronaut, Capt. John Randolph Bryan of the Confederate Signal Bureau, described it as made up of varnished cotton. It was inflated by hot air from burning pine knots and turpentine, similarly to the later day balloons exhibiting at county fairs. One holding cable was attached to a number of ropes coming down from the envelope and was passed through a windlass and then usually tied to a tree. When speed was necessary, the anchor rope would be hooked up to a team of horses and the balloon brought down in a hurry. In all, three ascensions were made in which information obtained was communicated to the ground by flag signal. On the final trip made on May 5, 1862, the holding rope became entangled with a soldier and was cut. The balloon went high into the air and was off on a free flight. First it drifted over the Union lines. Then it was blown toward the Confederate lines near Yorktown where Confederate soldiers opened fire on it because of the direction from which it appeared. Finally the balloon skimmed over the York River and landed in an orchard. It had made a half moon circuit of about 15 miles of which four were over the open water of the York River. As a result of the unexpected trip, Bryan was able to give General Johnston information of roads on which Union

¹⁵ *Southern Historical Society Papers* (Richmond, 1888), XVI, 95.

troops were marching which enabled the Confederates to prepare for a Union attack the next morning. Bryan was enthusiastic about the balloon but it hardly could have been an effective instrument.¹⁶

One of their last attempts was during the siege of Richmond in the same year. The success of Union balloonists so impressed the Confederates that they must have one even though they lacked the silk necessary for the balloon cover. It is a popular but unsubstantiated legend in the South that silk from hundreds of wedding and evening gowns was donated by patriotic women of the Confederacy for the balloon. One woman agent, "malignant in petticoats" and "She Secesh" as she was referred to by Northern newspapers, was alleged to have been arrested with a petticoat weighing fifty pounds, mostly of silk for the balloon.¹⁷ Whatever the source, silk was obtained and a balloon was made in Savannah, Ga., by Dr. Edward Cheves, who varnished the silk with gutta-percha from railroad car springs dissolved in naphtha.

The balloon was sent to Richmond in time for the Seven Days battle. It was inflated with city gas and attached by a holding rope to a railroad car or engine. It was moved up each day to the front lines for observation but returned at night to the city. Capt. (later Brig. Gen.) E. P. Alexander used it from the battle of Gaines Mill on. After the Union army reached Malvern Hill, ascension was made from the deck of a river steamboat. The boat grounded on a sand bar on July 4, 1862, and the balloon was captured by the Union Navy.¹⁸

DECEPTION

The Confederates probably made use of deception in battle on a more extensive scale than was ever attempted before. It partook of many forms and one of their schemes which never seemed to fail was the planting of deserters. There were innumerable instances where Union commanders believed loquacious Confederate deserters and always to their sorrow. Lee used planted deserters in the East but greatest success with

¹⁶ *P. H. C. W.*, VIII, 371; *Cincinnati Daily Commercial*, July 16, 1862.

¹⁷ Sorrel, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

¹⁸ Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

them was obtained in the West. Grant was deceived by them at Shiloh with almost dire results. Halleck was fooled immediately afterwards at Corinth. At Chickamauga, Rosecrans almost lost an army because he believed "planted" Confederate deserters and prisoners of war. Deserters continued to deceive up to the end of the war. Their native thespian abilities rank them with the best of the Confederate spies and perhaps in their accomplishments they should be ranked higher. Albion W. Tourgee said: "The Confederate deserter was an institution which has received too little consideration. Taken altogether, he was of far greater value to the Southern cause than the best corps in the Confederate Army. He was ubiquitous, willing and altogether inscrutable. Whether he told the truth or a lie, he was equally sure to deceive. He was sometimes a deserter and sometimes a mock deserter. In either case he was sure to be loaded."¹⁹

The Confederates continued their deception schemes up to the end of the war. When Grant moved into Petersburg in 1865, a Southerner came to him and said that he had been an engineer with the Army of Northern Virginia. He said that for some time back Lee had been preparing strong entrenchments between the James and Appomattox Rivers to which he would retire when forced out of Petersburg. He would make his final stand there. Now the time had come and Lee's army was retreating on the prepared position. If the report was true, Lee was retiring to a vulnerable position from which he would have to surrender his army in a matter of days, or as soon as the position could be surrounded. Since this action was not one which would be taken by a military leader of Lee's stature, Grant rightfully assumed that the engineer had been planted as a ruse to have the Union armies cross the Appomattox and follow Lee. Grant continued with his endeavor to cut them off as in his opinion the Confederates would head for Danville.²⁰

¹⁹ Albion W. Tourgee, *Story of a Thousand* (Buffalo, 1896), p. 213; John A. Wyeth, *Life of Lieutenant General Nathan Bedford Forrest* (New York, 1899), p. 95; *Letter, Lee to Early, Aug. 31, 1864*, Lee's Letter Book (Virginia Historical Society, Richmond), *B. & L.*, I, p. 297; *O. R.*, X, Pt. 1, p. 773, Pt. 2, pp. 172, 177, 179, 225, 770; *O. R.*, XI, Pt. 3, p. 593.

²⁰ Ulysses S. Grant, *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York, 1885), II, 454.

WAR DEPARTMENT ESPIONAGE

The Confederacy provided for War Department intelligence in April 1862 when it organized the secret service with which it practically finished the war. In the Confederate War Department, on Bank Street in Richmond, halfway between the buildings housing the President's office on Main Street and the office of the Secretary of War at 9th and Franklin, was an office called the Signal Bureau. It consisted of a reception room and a suite of private offices, and in reality was the Signal and Secret Service Bureau of the Confederacy. The control of ciphers of the State and War Departments was in the hands of this bureau. The office usually enciphered and deciphered confidential messages enroute in and out of the Confederacy and between field organizations and the War Department. It also carried on espionage activities.²¹

The Signal Corps, in charge of the Bureau, was organized at the same time. Ten captains were authorized for the corps at first but in September 1862 its strength was raised to one major, ten captains, 20 lieutenants, and 20 sergeants. Some 1500 enlisted men were on detail to the Signal Corps from the line.²² Capt. Alexander who had been trained under Maj. Myer, Signal Officer for the Federals, was especially useful to the organization when it was first formed. All members were well instructed in signalling and in the use of ciphers and the ciphering machine. In addition to its espionage duties, the corps furnished signal support to the field armies. Major William Norris of Baltimore was selected to head the corps, and confirmed by Congress.

An interesting service provided by the corps was rendered to blockade runners. Practically every blockade runner carried a signal officer who used colored lanterns for signalling. Signal stations were established at 30 or 40 mile intervals along the coasts near the ports used by the blockade runners so that they could receive early advice of conditions in the harbors. When a runner did not receive the proper signals, it would not enter the harbor. In addition to bringing in needed supplies, the blockade runners carried on many intelligence functions.²³

²¹ C. E. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 4.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²³ C. E. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Horan, *Confederate Agent*, p. 164.

As the work of the Confederate Signal Corps expanded, many of its members became agents and messengers and went into enemy lines, cities, and overseas. It also carried out important work along the Potomac as follows:

1. Afforded transportation to and from Baltimore or Washington to agents who presented War Department orders, if the orders were countersigned by Maj. Norris;
2. Observed and reported all enemy movement on the Potomac;
3. Secured for the executive departments the latest newspapers;
4. Obtained for the heads of bureaus small packages, books, or other essentials;
5. Forwarded letters for the State and War Departments to agents in foreign countries.²⁴

It was necessary that information and individuals pass easily across the Potomac and by fall of 1862 the requirement for furnishing transportation for agents going north increased. When better contact with agents in the North was essential, the necessity of establishing points or stations on the Potomac where agents could cross became apparent. One such point was established 20 miles below Washington near the Marshall Mansion (Marshall Hall) where a small boat was kept. Other stations were in lower Maryland and in King George and Westmoreland Counties in Virginia, such as the one near Pope's Creek. To complete the link, the bureau also established a line of agents from the Potomac to Washington to assist in the transmission of information. It also installed a regular system of espionage. The Confederacy was able to maintain these stations up to the end of the war.²⁵

The stations also observed and reported the movement of all Union troops carried on the river. Lt. Charles Cawood, who was recommended in the fall of 1864 to take charge of the espionage service, had command of an important station on the Potomac. So that information on troop movements could be reported promptly, posts used in observation were

²⁴ *Southern Historical Society Papers*, XVI, p. 99.

²⁵ Thomas N. Conrad, *A Confederate Spy* (New York, 1892), p. 16.

connected to the extent possible by telegraph to the telegraph on the Fredericksburg Railroad. These hidden observation posts became very efficient and as late as 1864 movement of Northern troops to Eastern Virginia was sure to be reported to Richmond.

Although the Union Army maintained spies on many of the farms on the Maryland side of the river and had detachments of troops along it, so successful was the link that messages in cipher and other information from agents in Northern states or Canada were forwarded across the river each Monday, Thursday, and Saturday.²⁶

The bureau maintained accredited agents in all major cities in the North, particularly in Washington, Baltimore, and New York. These agents were men and women of high social position and because the South lacked the means for paying them, they usually worked without compensation.²⁷ Members of the Signal Corps who were working on espionage received nothing beyond their pay. The espionage system established by the Signal and Secret Service Bureau cost the Government relatively little. Since most of the agents were volunteers and their motives stemmed from patriotism, it would seem that the Confederates were assured of the highest type of spy. As was the case of John Wilkes Booth who worked as a volunteer agent, the volunteer agents were not always trustworthy and reliable. To the end, however, the South had to rely on the energy and zeal of a few devoted men, many from Maryland.

The establishment of the Signal and Secret Service Bureau did not mean that all War Department and other military intelligence activities were confined to it. The bureau had no counter-intelligence functions and was not the sole agency interested in War Department espionage. The Confederate armies also continued to carry on espionage, usually for combat intelligence purposes.

Had all of the records of the Signal and Secret Service Bureau survived, our knowledge of it would not be so largely in the realm of fantasy. The vicissitudes of the Bureau were many. Fortunately a sufficient number of official papers and

²⁶ C. E. Taylor, p. 22.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19; *Southern Historical Papers*, XVI, p. 99.

personnel records remain so that a story of it can be pieced together.

The *Official Records of the Rebellion* contain many reports to Major Norris from his agents, particularly from those stationed in Washington, and reports by him to the President and Secretary of War. From the time he was appointed Chief Signal Officer, Norris experienced a vicarious career. By July 6, 1863, he had become rankled that he was the only War Department staff officer in the grade of major and requested that he be appointed colonel. No action resulted from the request. Shortly thereafter, charges were preferred against him by a lieutenant of the Independent Signal Corps. A Court of Inquiry exonerated Norris of charges of intoxication, revealing the Confederate code and location of signal stations, and having improper intercourse with the enemy.

The year 1864 started auspiciously for Norris. He sent a message in February on stationery bearing the printed heading "War Department, Secret Service Bureau, Richmond" requesting that a buggy be furnished his bureau. Soon, however, he fell into disfavor and was ordered to make an inspection of all signal activities in the Southern Departments. It was not until January, 1865 that a reprieve came to this officer and he was ordered to return to Richmond and resume his duties as Chief Signal Officer.²⁸

During his absence, Capt. William N. Barker, his adjutant, assumed his duties, had full charge of the bureau, and took the title of Chief of the Signal Corps. To Barker goes the credit for having invented a deciphering machine used successfully by the Confederates. By April 1864, reports were coming to him by name from agents in the field.

Barker was ambitious and quickly attempted to change the espionage system which Norris had so carefully nurtured. He recommended that individuals on the secret service line who were volunteers and serving without pay be required to join the army with the understanding that they would be detailed immediately to the same work. Nothing came from this recommendation but he was able to get \$600 with which to pay agents

²⁸ Personnel Records of Maj. William Norris, CSA, National Archives.

who lived across the Potomac for expenses they had already incurred.²⁹

He proposed in August that the rank of signal officers, including his own, be increased, but the letter bears the notation, "Enter and File."³⁰

He was a prolific letter writer and, nothing daunted, he endeavored in September to have the Secret Service part of the bureau separately recognized. This recommendation bears the same notation regarding entering and filing.³¹

When Norris was allowed to resume his duties as Chief Signal Officer in January 1865, he found that laxity had developed and that cipher key words were in telegraph offices. He issued a printed Confidential Circular in March prescribing that the 15-letter key words for ciphers be changed at least once a month.³²

Confederate intelligence activities were complicated by the establishment at Petersburg in 1863 of an Independent Signal Corps Battalion under the command of Maj. James F. Miligan. The duties of the unit were similar to those of the bureau in Richmond. It established a line of signals on the James and Appomattox Rivers and observed movements on both rivers. By the time of the campaigns of 1864-1865, the unit manned signal stations and observation posts, furnished personnel for blockade runners, sent men in uniform behind the lines for combat intelligence, and handled some telegraph lines. The unit confined itself largely to combat intelligence while the bureau in Richmond went widely afield. Since there was conflict of authority between the two signal corps, it was only natural that jealousy developed but a conclusion must be reached that the Independent Signal Corps Battalion was efficient and performed a service which should have been available to all Confederate armies.³³

As the war dragged on, the Confederate spy system became perfected and spies increased in numbers north of the Potomac.

²⁹ O. R., III, Series 3, p. 577.

³⁰ Personnel Records of W. N. Barker, Signal Corps, CSA, National Archives.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Lee's Papers, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond.

³³ *Ibid.*; O. R., XI, Pt. 3, p. 628; O. R., XXVII, Pt. 3, p. 964; O. R., XXIX, Pt. 2, p. 635; O. R., XLII, Pt. 1, p. 867.

With a host of spies in the North, Richmond was apprized of all intelligence worth while.³⁴

Those employed as spies at Confederate War Department level were usually carefully selected and were an intelligent lot. James P. Holcome, law professor at Virginia University, made a name for himself as a spy. Walter Bowie, a lawyer from Marlboro, Md., started at the beginning of the war as a Confederate agent. William B. Davis, a relative of the President, was sent to Ohio on a special mission. His early capture indicates that he did not have the same capacity of many of the others.³⁵

COUNTER-INTELLIGENCE

With a greater unity of purpose in the Confederacy, a higher proportion of its people were devoted to its cause. Internal security was not a difficult problem. There was little emphasis placed on counter-intelligence for the civilian population until toward the close of the war. During the siege of Richmond, it was necessary to place a tight counter-intelligence curtain over the city.

It was just as well that conditions did not require the strict measures which were necessary in the North. Southerners resented restrictive measures even more than did Northerners, and if repressive measures to enforce counterintelligence had been taken, active discontent might have broken out. This leniency did not apply to the Army which prohibited publication for one month after a campaign of private communications concerning military movements or operations. Nevertheless, many Confederate officers who should have known better failed to realize the basic principles of counter-intelligence.

SABOTAGE

With no barriers of language or race, sabotage was not difficult but it never became a major factor during the war. Rail

³⁴ Thomas C. DeLeon, *Four Years in Rebel Capitals* (Mobile, 1890), pp. 285-286.

³⁵ Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 169; Robert G. H. Kean, *Inside the Confederate Government, The Diary of Robert Garlick Hall Kean* (New York, 1957), Carl Sandburg, *Abraham Lincoln, War Years* (New York, 1939), III, 468.

lines were vital to the prosecution of the Union war effort and they became a favorite target for the professional and amateur saboteur and the guerillas.³⁶

One of the earliest records of Confederate sabotage was the burning of steamboats at Louisville, Ky., by guerrillas in 1862. Similar efforts continued sporadically. The Confederates paid liberally to the Northern subversive society, the *Order of the Sons of Liberty*, for sabotage committed by it.³⁷

When the trend of the war was definitely against the Confederacy in 1864, it made many desperate moves to regain its earlier position including intensifying efforts at sabotage. In September, an unsuccessful attempt was made to blow up a Quartermaster warehouse in St. Louis. Attempts were made to start a large number of fires in New York City in hopes that a general conflagration would result and the city be destroyed. Fires were kindled by clockwork mechanism and Greek fire. Although fires were started in several hotels and other public places, they were quickly extinguished. Except for some barges set afire, all attempts failed. The Greek fire was ineffective.³⁸

Arson was also attempted on 75 steamer transports tied up in St. Louis. In spite of loose guarding the effort failed. Capt. T. H. Hines was successful in burning military warehouses at Mattoon, Ill.

The lack of positive evidence of successful sabotage on a major scale can be taken as an indication that relatively little was accomplished. The work of the Confederate guerrillas on railroads resulted in the most successful accomplished. Subversion took on more devious forms and was intended to accomplish more than the destruction of property.

³⁶ O. R., XLVI, Pt. 3, p. 1250; Herman Haupt, *Reminiscences of General Herman Haupt* (Milwaukee, 1901), pp. 123, 251, 323.

³⁷ *Police Records of Spies, Smugglers, and Rebel Emissaries in Tennessee*, by an officer (Philadelphia, 1863), p. 615; Felix W. Stidger, *Treason History of the Order of the Sons of Liberty* (Chicago, 1903).

³⁸ O. R., XLI, Pt. 3, p. 95; *P. H. C. W.*, VIII p. 302; Horan, *Confederate Agent*, p. 137; Charles A. Dana, *Recollections of the Civil War* (New York, 1898), pp. 241, 242.

GUERRILLAS

As the war progressed, armed bands of irregulars came into being throughout the South. These guerrillas, or bushwackers as they were also called, were found in greatest numbers where civil government had fallen down, as in the border states where the armies could control only areas in their immediate vicinity.³⁹

The motives of the guerrillas were patriotic at first as they preyed initially on those whose loyalty to the Confederacy was in question. As economic conditions deteriorated, the bands attracted criminals, deserters from both sides, unwilling conscripts, and others who resented control or who had little interest in the war.

The Confederate Congress was partially responsible for the guerrillas and the retaliatory measures taken by Union commanders. It was sympathetic to irregulars and made provision for the organization of partisan rangers. Guerrilla warfare was favorably viewed at the time throughout the South. As the war went on and the irregulars increased in numbers and lawlessness, they quickly lost the favor they once held.

Lee recommended in 1863 that the partisan rangers not be increased as they would accomplish less than the same number of men in the regular service. Brig. Gen. Thomas L. Rosser reported that guerrillas in the Valley were but bands of thieves, stealing and plundering, as well as committing other crimes.⁴⁰

The partisan bill was, in effect, repealed in March 1864, but it was too late. Deserters and others were banding together in July 1864 to resist authority. Brig. Gen. John Echols reported in September 1864 about the bad conditions in East Tennessee caused by the large numbers of guerrillas and bushwackers who infested the area. Murders occurred almost daily and all kinds of atrocities were perpetrated. Roads were unsafe for officers unless accompanied by strong escorts.

The work of Mosby and his partisans in reconnaissance was a real help to Lee, and the guerrilla attacks on Eastern rail lines operated by the Union Army through Confederate territory

³⁹ Robert S. Henry, *The Story of the Confederacy* (Boston, 1939), p. 298.

⁴⁰ O. R., XXIX, Pt. 2, p. 75; *Lee's Dispatches*, pp. 281-295; Virgil Carrington Jones, *Ranger Mosby* (Chapel Hill, 1944), p. 283.

assisted the Confederate war effort. V. C. Jones feels that the organized partisans prolonged the war in the East by about eight months by disrupting communications and by causing a dispersion of Federal efforts.⁴¹

While this claim regarding Mosby is a valid one, the guerilla movement must be viewed in its entirety. It is true that they tied down thousands of Union troops in Missouri alone, but it is also true that for every organized partisan, there were many more guerrillas and bushwackers who preyed on Southerners as well as on the Union Army. The comments of able military leaders deserve consideration. Whether you call them partisan rangers, guerrillas, or bushwackers, they harmed the Confederacy about as much as they did the Union cause. It can be claimed with some justification that guerrillas were a subversive influence to the Confederacy. A cloak of chivalry has been thrown around them which they do not deserve.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE

The Civil War was a quarrel between two segments of the same nation and in consequence foreign intelligence should not have played an important role. Since the Confederacy was striving for recognition abroad and was attempting to procure ships and supplies from foreign sources, it was the most active in the foreign field. It quickly stationed agents in Europe but usually they were men of little influence. The Confederates placed commissioners in Canada and carried on the bulk of their foreign intrigue from there. The Federal Government was very successful in countering Confederate foreign activities.

SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES

The commissioners operating from Canada in 1864 attempted to regain the lost Confederate position by stirring up revolution in the Northwest states, setting up a Northwest Confederacy, seizing vessels of the Great Lakes, freeing Confederate soldiers from Union prisoner-of-war camps, raising an army in the Northwest, and by other similar activities. They planned

⁴¹ Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 12

on doing this chiefly with the help of Northern subversive secret societies. Capt. Thomas H. Hines of Morgan's cavalry, who had made a reputation for daring accomplishments of the kind contemplated, figured prominently in the attempts. It will suffice to say that the societies had greater talent for oratory than they did for accomplishment. The uprisings failed to materialize and the Confederates had to retire with little to show for their time and money.

CONCLUSIONS

It can be seen that Confederate military intelligence included many aspects. Space has permitted only a cursory consideration of Confederate activities. For instance, little has been said about the signal activities of the Signal Corps which became very proficient in breaking Union codes and tapping Union telegraph lines. Even the best of military intelligence is of little value unless it is disseminated up and down in the chain of command in time to be of use. Information in the Confederate Army was promptly passed along. Confederate skill in military intelligence increased as the war progressed but so did that of Union counter-agents.

It has been said by some Northern writers that there was no feat by Union intelligence officers which was not equalled or bettered by the Confederates. Their agents were usually able to penetrate Union lines at will and any sudden bustle in the camps, arrival or departure of couriers, cooking of extra rations, or unusual issuing of ordnance, quartermaster, and commissary supplies were sure to be reported as the incidents might portend an impending engagement.⁴²

With the few authentic records by which Confederate military intelligence can be evaluated, an appraisal of it is difficult. There can be little doubt, however, that it was good. Judged by results—the only proper rule—its intelligence service must be ranked high.⁴³

⁴² Conrad, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁴³ Freeman, *Lee*, IV, 141.

BALTIMORE CITY PLACE NAMES

Part 4

STONY RUN, ITS PLANTATIONS, FARMS, COUNTRY SEATS AND MILLS

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

(continued from December)

CEDAR LAWN

THIS small estate, or country place, formerly belonged to the Albert family; but for many year has been the property of Leonard Greif and Brothers, Inc., clothing manufacturers. "Cedar Lawn" was bounded on the north by Homeland Avenue; on the south by Notre Dame Lane; and on the west by the land belonging to Notre Dame College. It was formerly entered from the York Road, a short distance above Notre Dame Lane, and there was an entrance by way of Notre Dame Lane. According to Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and County*, 1877 (p. 54—Map of Govanstown), the Albert mansion and its outbuildings stood over towards the southwestern corner of this property. One of the principal assets of "Cedar Lawn" was a large pond, or "lake," which was situated close to the western boundary of the estate, about mid-way between Homeland Avenue and Notre Dame Lane. It was a little over four hundred feet long, and about a hundred feet wide at its widest.¹⁹⁰ Between the site of the mansion and the lake is a spring which was formerly protected by retaining walls and a roof.¹⁹¹ The lake was quite deep, and there were fish in it. The incident of the bass jumping into the rowboat has already been related.

"Cedar Lawn," as it was known to the Alberts, was a small

¹⁹⁰ I take these dimensions from the map of Govanstown in Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore County*, 1877, at page 54. This map shows the site of the house and the sites of the outbuildings. The late Edward V. Coonan told me that when he was a Govanstown boy he used to swim in this lake.

¹⁹¹ I have this information from Miss Martha C. Bokel.

tract of land which was originally part of Mrs. Harriet (Hopkins) Bryan's share of her husband's estate. On December 19, 1862, it was sold by Mrs. Brian and her son, James, to Richard James Gittings,¹⁹² who held it less than four years, and sold it, June 5, 1866, to Augustus J. Albert, for a consideration of \$11,000.¹⁹³ At that time it contained between twenty-six and twenty-seven acres of land. Mr. Gittings also purchased of the Brians, 1862, adjacent property, extending from "Evergreen," as it was later called, to the York Road, and including the estate later known as "Winston," the country-seat of the Brundidge family. This land he disposed of in 1866. He may have intended these lands for a country-seat, but, if so, there is no tradition of such intent in his family.

Mr. Albert, who belonged to a socially prominent and wealthy Baltimore family, was born September 30, 1811, and died September 10, 1886. He was succeeded in the ownership of "Cedar Lawn" by his son, Mr. Jacob Albert. Baltimore "Society Visiting Lists," 1895-1907, show that Mr. Albert resided at "Cedar Lawn" during that period of time. The author of this history is in receipt of a very interesting letter from the son of Mr. Jacob Albert, dated, Tombstone, Arizona, March 12, 1962, which concerns "Cedar Lawn." It reads as follows:

"Cedar Lawn" consisted of a 35-acre tract of land bordered on the north by Homeland Avenue, on the east by the York Road, and on the south by Notre Dame Lane. There were five dwellings, three barns and stables, two storage ice houses, hot houses, a boat house, a gas house, a water-wheel house and a small house on an island in the centre of the lake. The three large houses (as I understand it) were built after my grandfather (Augustus J. Albert) purchased Cedar Lawn. The "Gate House" at the corner of the York Road and Notre Dame Lane and the "Gardener's Cottage" near the West end of Notre Dame Lane appeared to have been of much earlier construction. The main house had four stories and a cupola and consisted of 35 rooms. I feel quite sure that it was built by my late grandfather (Augustus J. Albert). The property was sold by the Fidelity Trust Company, in 1921, for \$100,000.00 as part of my mother's Estate. The stream that passed through

¹⁹² Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 36, f. 136.

¹⁹³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 41, f. 136.

the property furnished water for the lake and turned a water wheel that pumped water to each of the five dwellings. A private gas plant furnished gas to various houses before electricity was available. The lake was quite an asset, furnishing facilities for swimming, boating and fishing during the summer months and skating and ice for the ice houses during the winter months.

They are all gone now at "Cedar Lawn," these improvements and amenities of a first-class Victorian estate, American style. Gone with them no doubt went a building or two which dated from the days of the Bryans, when that part of Baltimore County was still "real country."

EVERGREEN ON THE AVENUE

In the chapter which follows I shall attempt to tell what little of interest I have been able to find concerning the history of the land on which the stately Evergreen mansion stands, from the time when, as part of "Job's Addition," it was acquired by James Bryan, as I have related above, until it was purchased by the Garrett family, and became the scene of a brilliant social life of long duration.

As I have already noted, Jane Cecilia Bryan, one of the three daughters of Charles Bryan (d. 1837), son of James, married William Broadbent, a well known Baltimore merchant, son of the Rev. Stephen Broadbent, a Methodist minister and a native of Halifax, England. Upon the distribution of her father's estate, the future Mrs. Broadbent acquired some $56\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land, including that small part of "Job's Addition," which was later to be known as "Evergreen," the land called "Wheeler's Lott" and part of "Sheredine's Discovery."¹⁹⁴ This little estate, or farm, extended eastwards as far as the York Road. Robert Taylor's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857*, shows the residence of William Broadbent, situated on the eastern part of the property, over towards the York Road, actually on "Wheeler's Lott," and called "Woodlawn."¹⁹⁵ At one and the same time there were two "Woodlawns" in the Stony Run watershed.

¹⁹⁴ Deed of partition, dated 5 Sept., 1838, recorded among the land records of Baltimore County in Liber T. K. No. 282, at f. 148.

¹⁹⁵ An old frame barn, which is still standing on this property, near the "Evergreen" line, may date from the time of the Broadbents. More recently it has stood on "Winston," an estate of 16 acres, which was purchased in 1874, by Thomas Vose Brundidge, who named it for the family of his wife.

William Broadbent had a brother, Stephen Broadbent, who married, in 1833, Mary Eugenia Scotti,¹⁹⁶ and died, February 22, 1882, at the age of seventy. I have it on the best authority¹⁹⁷ that it was he who built the Evergreen mansion (exclusive of later additions), the hot houses, and the lake, which were among the principal amenities of the place. Title to the estate, however, was vested in his eldest son, John Scotti Broadbent (c. 1834-1865), who purchased the property, 7 May, 1857, of James Brian [*sic*] and William Broadbent and Cecilia, his wife.¹⁹⁸ Another deed, to the same party from the same parties, is dated 27 July, 1858.¹⁹⁹ On September 10, 1860, John Scotti Broadbent conveyed the estate to Thomas M. Lanahan and wife,²⁰⁰ who, on September 26, same year, conveyed it back to him.²⁰¹ On June 4th, 1862, Mr. Broadbent, then unmarried, sold it to Horatio Nelson Gambrill, for a consideration of \$52,000.00.²⁰² After selling his house and land he went to live at No. 42 Mount Vernon Place.²⁰³

The Evergreen mansion is known to be a copy of Melville Park, the residence of the Taylor family, situated on a country estate, east of the Old York Road, half a mile north of Waverly.²⁰⁴

In the time of the Broadbents the stately mansion we know as "Evergreen" was called "Glen Mary."²⁰⁵

The Evergreen "lake" is shown on Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and County, 1877*, at page 52. It was destroyed in the time of the late Hon. John Work Garrett. Pollution of the Homeland branch is given as the reason for its destruction;

¹⁹⁶ Marriage license, Baltimore County, Jan. 22, 1833.

¹⁹⁷ This information comes from Mr. Felipe F. Broadbent, with whom I corresponded in 1944. Mr. Broadbent was born in 1867, the son of Stephen Broadbent, Jr. (c. 1835-1872), a brother of John Scotti Broadbent. For other valuable information about the Broadbents I am indebted to Mrs. James W. Kemp, of Pikesville, Md., who was Miss Eugenia W. Broadbent.

¹⁹⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 18, f. 351.

¹⁹⁹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 22, f. 59.

²⁰⁰ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 28, f. 33.

²⁰¹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 30, f. 404.

²⁰² Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 34, f. 449.

²⁰³ Baltimore City Directory, 1864.

²⁰⁴ For the information that Evergreen was a copy of Melville Park I am indebted to Mr. J. G. D'Arcy Paul.

²⁰⁵ According to the Baltimore City Directory of 1864, the following Broadbents lived at Glen Mary on Charles Street Avenue: Joseph F. Broadbent; J. Scotti Broadbent; Stephen Broadbent, Jr., Stephen Broadbent, Sr.

but it is said that Mr. Garrett successfully brought suit against the offending parties. I, myself, remember when this unfortunate stream, where it coursed through the Garrett property, gave forth a foul smell, which came, it is said, from a source too respectable to be mentioned.

On November 1, 1867, a certain William C. Conine and wife, one Howell Downing and Horatio N. Gambrill sold the "Evergreen" estate to George R. Gaither,²⁰⁶ who, on May 18, 1872, conveyed it to Messrs. Samuel F. Adams and John F. Adams,²⁰⁷ whose names, as joint owners thereof, appear on Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and County, 1877*, at page 52. The late Mr. J. Paul Baker told the author that he remembered Mr. Gaither when he was living at "Evergreen." He wore a stock and looked like an Englishman. On April 27, 1878, Samuel F. Adams and others conveyed "Evergreen," described as part of "Job's Addition," to John W. Garrett and to Robert Garrett and Sons.²⁰⁸ Mr. Gaither obtained \$51,500 for the property.

The acquisition of "Evergreen" by the Garretts began a brilliant, worldly and cultivated social life in that great house, the recounting of which would fill a book, and must be left to far more competent hands than mine.

GUILFORD

Full justice to this subject has been done by John Gilman D'Arcy Paul in a charming, as well as interesting article, which appeared in the March, 1956, issue of this magazine. The illustrations which accompany this article, include a lovely picture of the Guilford lake. I venture to add a few words concerning this lake. Its dimensions were, approximately: length, about 500 feet; width, about 100 feet.²⁰⁹ In the picture it appears to be wider. It had two islands. This artificial lake, or pond, was fed by two small streams, or "spring branches" as we call them in the country. The shorter of the two, but most probably, the larger in point of volume, rose to the east of the

²⁰⁶ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Maryland, Liber 56, f. 155.

²⁰⁷ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 75, f. 437.

²⁰⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 105, f. 49.

²⁰⁹ Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and Its Environs*, Volume I, Plate S.

present Sherwood Gardens (the site of the lake), between the present Underwood Road and the York Road.²¹⁰ The longer stream rose a short distance north of Cold Spring Lane, about 1/4 of a mile west of the York Road, flowing S. by W. and then S. by E. to the head of the lake.²¹¹ Together, these rivulets formed a stream, which empties into Stony Run a little way to the north of University Parkway. In 1852 a "receiving reservoir" was proposed for this valley, in Guilford, but the scheme was not carried out.²¹²

KERNEWOOD

The author regrets that he has so little to tell the reader about this well-appointed Victorian estate, which gave its name to a first-class suburban "development." Kernewood was the home of socially prominent people, namely, David Shields Wilson (1802-1882), whose wife was Mary Hollins Bowley. Mr. Wilson began to assemble this estate in 1847, when he purchased 45½ acres of land of William A. Talbott, being composed of parts of "Bryan's Chance," "Ridgely's Whim" and "Sheredine's Discovery."²¹³ Soon afterwards he purchased a small piece of land of James Brian, Trustee, and William Broadbent et ux.²¹⁴ In 1848 he purchased of the heirs of Abraham Van Bibber a tract of land, containing 14½ acres, exclusive of the graveyard of the Bryan family, being part of "Ridgely's Whim" and part of "Bryan's Chance."²¹⁵ "Kernewood" lay between

²¹⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹¹ *Baltimore and its Neighborhood, an Excursion Map Compiled for the Johns Hopkins University, Based upon Triangulation of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and Published maps of Local Surveys*, Edited by Albert L. Webster. Drawn by Louis Nelt. Publication Agency of the Johns Hopkins University, 1887.

²¹² *Map of the City of Baltimore and Part of Baltimore County including the Valley of the Great Gunpowder River from the Warren Factory to Tide-water showing the surveys made therein for the Introduction of Water into the City*. Approved May 11, 1852. Thomas P. Chiffelle, City Surveyor & C. E.

²¹³ Balto. County Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 382, f. 64.

²¹⁴ Balto. County Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 385, f. 551.

²¹⁵ Balto. County Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 405, f. 37. Mr. Van Bibber's heirs are listed as follows: Lucretia Van Bibber, Thomas E. Van Bibber, Washington Chew Van Bibber, of Baltimore City, George L. Van Bibber and Abraham Van Bibber of New Orleans. Called for in this deed are the land sold by Abraham Van Bibber to Joseph Forman, the land of General William McDonald and the land of Jeremiah Tittle. The McDonald property was, of course, Guilford. Joseph Forman was a brother of General Thomas Marsh Forman of "Rose Hill," Cecil County.

the York Road and Charles Street Avenue, on both sides of Cold Spring Lane, but mostly on its northern side, and included the Loyola College property, which was later acquired by the Garretts. The situation was high, but the estate had one or two springs. It is reliably said that the beautiful, walled garden on the property of the late Mrs. Miles White, Jr., incorporates what was left of the old Kernewood garden.

THE CROCKER PLACE

This small country-place was situated at the northwest corner of Charles Street and Cold Spring Lane. It was, until lately, in the possession of the Crocker family, but is now the site of the Charleston Hall Apartments. The Homeland branch of Stony Run flows west under Charles Street from "Evergreen" and thence under these apartment buildings, coming out on the farther side. On the slope, on the southern side of the stream, stood, until lately, a large and ancient spreading white oak tree mentioned above, the chief ornament, of the Crocker place. Mr. Emmanuel Crocker bought a little over 12 acres of land, parts of "Ridgely's Whim" and "Bryan's Chance," from Larkin Read, July 10th, 1852, being the same land which the aforesaid Read held of Lucretia Van Bibber and others, heirs of Abraham Van Bibber, on a 99-year lease.²¹⁶ On December 18, 1854, he purchased all their interest in said land from the heirs above mentioned.²¹⁷ This was the Crocker estate. It was part of Abraham Van Bibber's Paradise Farm. There were two houses on the property, a brick house and a frame house, both built by the Crockers. Emmanuel Crocker and his wife, Harriet (McDonald) Crocker, in 1862, sold something less than an acre, situated on the east side of Charles Street Avenue, to David S. Wilson, which small strip of land was added to "Kernewood."²¹⁸ The next owner of the Crocker place was a son of Emmanuel Crocker, Samuel Griffith Crocker (c. 1843-

²¹⁶ Balto County Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 416, f. 416: Van Bibber heirs [see under "Kernewood"] to Larkin Read, October 16, 1848, 22 acres, 2 rods and 18 perches of land. The parties of the first part are designated as children and heirs of Washington Van Bibber, and the land as subject to the right of dower of Lucretia Van Bibber.

²¹⁷ Land Records of Baltimore County, Towson, Md., Liber 10, f. 310.

²¹⁸ Land Records of Baltimore County, Towson, Md., Liber 35, f. 146.

1929), who served in the Union Army. He married Laetitia Davis, by whom he had five sons and three daughters. The author is indebted to one of these sons, Mr. Emmanuel M. Crocker, for valuable information.

LINKWOOD

"Linkwood" was the name of the property of the late Dr. Hugh Hampton Young, famous surgeon and author (1870-1945), who made it his home and entertained there in the grand manner. Dr. Young acquired this estate in 1910 of a family named Carter.²¹⁹ The Carters bought it of Col. Seymour Mandelbaum (1847-1931), a distinguished Baltimore financier and native of Baltimore, he having owned it not many years. In the latter part of the preceding century it belonged to Mr. Christian Ax (1823-1887), whose name as owner appears on Plate "S" of Volume I, of *Hopkins' Atlas of Baltimore City and its Environs, 1876*. This small estate of about eleven acres lies on the northern side of Cold Spring Lane, between Stony Run and the Crocker place, and is a part of a tract of land containing about twenty-two acres, which Larkin Read purchased of the heirs of Abraham Van Bibber, in 1848.²²⁰ Originally, it was part of Mr. Van Bibber's "Paradise Farm." It is now (in part) the site of the Wynnewood Towers Apartments.

Linkwood Avenue, which runs from Cold Spring Lane to University Parkway, perpetuates the name of Linkwood. It is a comparatively modern street name.

Who named Linkwood and whence comes this name? It is, apparently, a British place-name, although Bartholomew, the well known authority, gives only one example, namely, Linkwood Distillery, in Morayshire, Scotland, two miles east of Elgin.²²¹ Linkwood is the name of a village in Dorchester County, Maryland, a former railroad station on the old Cambridge and Seaford Railroad, containing, at one time, a church, a store, a post office and a few dwelling houses.²²² From it was

²¹⁹ Their names were: Allen Carter and LeRoy Carter.

²²⁰ See above, Note 216.

²²¹ Bartholomew's *Gazeteer of the British Isles*, Ninth Edition, p. 424. In 1868 Linkwood, probably the same place, near Elgin, was the residence of Peter Brown, Esq. (*Morayshire Described*, by J. and W. Watson, Elgin, 1868.)

²²² *History of Dorchester County, Md.*, by Dr. Elias Jones, 1902, p. 90. Link-

derived the name of Linkwood Election District.²²³ This village, to the best of my knowledge and belief, is situated upon a tract of land called "Linkwoods," containing 250 acres, which was surveyed for a certain Dr. Robert Winsmore, February 12, 1673.²²⁴ Dr. Winsmore left "Linkwoods" in his will, October 23, 1676, to his daughter, Anne,²²⁵ who married John Le Compte, who, in his will, November 4, 1704, left it, under the name of "Linkwood," to his son, William.²²⁶ It lies on the western side of the head, freshwater stream of Transquaking River, above Higgins' Mill.

Whether or no our Baltimore City "Linkwood" derived its name from the Scottish Linkwood, or from the Eastern Shore Linkwood, or whether it was named for either one of them, remains undecided. Larkin Read was probably of British ancestry and possibly of old Maryland Eastern Shore stock.²²⁷ It seems not improbable that he named it. All we know is that the name was painted on Mr. Mandelbaum's gate posts. Farther than this we can not trace it.²²⁸

This estate (not named) was advertised for sale in *The Sun*, Baltimore, March 14, 1878. Prospective purchasers were requested to apply to Mr. Christian Ax, or to Mr. J. J. Stewart. The property is described as a "handsome country seat three miles out Charles Street Avenue, fronting Cold Spring Lane." The master's house was a "double frame dwelling" equipped with "a well of the purest water in the summer kitchen." On the estate were a summer house, a hot house, "an excellent

wood is shown on Hopkins' *Map of Maryland, Delaware and the District of Columbia*, 1877.

²²³ Linkwood Election District is mentioned in a deed from John S. Vincent to Edson Packard, 15 Feb., 1881. (Land Office of Maryland, Abstracts of Deeds, Dorchester County, Liber 1880-1883 (No. 7), f. 571.)

²²⁴ Dorchester County Rent Roll, Calvert Papers No. 885, f. 281.

²²⁵ Baldwin's *Maryland Calendar of Wills*, Vol. 1, p. 193.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, p. 50. James Thompson, in 1817, resurveyed "Linkwood" and nine other tracts of land, or parts of tracts of land, into one entire tract. The resurvey bordered on Higgins' Mill Pond. (Eastern Shore Warrants, Land Office of Maryland.)

²²⁷ There was a well established family named Read in Dorchester County. Larkin Read was a miller. As we shall see later, he bought, and probably operated, Paradise Mill. He died April 6, 1893, aged 82. (Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society). Richard H. Townsend, of Baltimore, in his well-known diary (three volumes, Library of Md. Hist. Society), records the fact that a Larkin Read died of yellow fever in town in 1819.

²²⁸ The author is indebted to Mr. Emmanuel M. Crocker for this information.

kitchen garden containing large and small fruits." There were ornamental grounds adorned with forest trees, shrubbery, flower beds, etc.; also "a never failing stream of pure water," running through the place, with "a lake, bridges and a water fall." The stream was, of course, the Homeland branch of Stony Run.

Hopkins *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs*, Volume 1, Plate "S", 1876, shows the pond or lake, and another pond which was shared by this property and the Crocker place.

THE DULIN PLACE

This small country seat of a little over thirty-nine acres was composed of parts of two tracts of land which have been previously mentioned in this article: "Seed Ticks Plenty" and "Mount Pleasant." By what name it was known to its owners we have not been able to find out. It was certainly not called "Seed Ticks Plenty," and the name of Mount Pleasant was taken by Henry Mankin for his adjoining country seat. At one time it was the home of a family named Clarke. A plan of a subdivision belonging to the Hampden Improvement Association, as already laid out in streets, dating from the year 1857, shows two houses close together on this property, situated in an enclosure marked "Clarke," a short distance to the south of Merryman's Lane, later Sixth Avenue, and now called Fortieth Street. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and County*, 1877, page 52, shows a house (and no other) in the same situation. Both maps show two little streams traversing the estate and flowing into Stony Run. The plat of 1857 shows a pond on the larger of the two streams, and Hopkins shows another pond, which was situated on the smaller stream. These ponds appear to have measured about seventy-five feet in length. The land comprising this estate was part of a tract of land deeded by Charles Carroll of Carrollton to Abraham Van Bibber, 18 April, 1794, and was mortgaged by George B. Clarke and wife, and others, to Richard Hardesty 3 February, 1853.²²⁹ Hardesty acquired the property in fee, September 24, 1860, and promptly sold it to (Dr.) Alexander F. Dulin, of Baltimore City, for \$12,000.00.²³⁰

²²⁹ Balto County Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 30, f. 362.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, f. 263.

Dr. Alexander Franklin Dulin was born in Fairfax County, Virginia, May 7, 1806, and died in Baltimore, Maryland, November 25, 1874. On April 23, 1839, he married Caroline Susan, daughter of David Keener.²³¹ In 1864 the Dulin family purchased the stately mansion, no. 107, west Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, which is still standing. The purchase price was \$45,000.00. This mansion was built by John Cope-land Morton in 1836-7, and was occupied by the Dulin family until 1932.²³² The greater part of the Dulin country estate—some 25 acres—was purchased by the Maryland Casualty Com-pany of the Dulin family in 1919, which erected thereon the handsome buildings which the company now occupies. An article in the (Baltimore) *Evening Sun* of August 25, 1919, entitled "Maryland Casualty will go to the Suburbs," announces this purchase, and describes the land so purchased as bounded by Merryman's Lane or Fortieth Street, Cedar Avenue, now Keswick Road, Thirty-seventh Street and Elm Avenue. The bounds of the whole estate, according to the above mentioned plat of 1857, were: Sixth Avenue, Elm Avenue, Fourth Avenue and Beech Avenue.

VAUXHALL

Vauxhall (or Fox Hall, as it is called in the certificate of survey) is a tract of land containing two hundred acres, which was laid out for Stephen Benson, October 12, 1694.²³³ It is a rectangular piece of land, lying on both sides of Roland Avenue, but principally to the eastward of it, bounded, roughly speaking, by Belvedere Avenue, on the north, by Charles Street on the east, and on the south by Wyndhurst Avenue. On its western side lies "Ridgely's Whim"; on its southern, "Gift Resurveyed"; on its eastern, "Job's Addition." On the north it is separated from "Morgan's Delight" by a tract of land containing 13 1/4 acres and 10 square perches, called "Addition to "Vauxhall," surveyed for Daniel Evans, April 5, 1806, a piece of "vacancy" discovered, no doubt, as often happened, in making resurveys.²³⁴

²³¹ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society.

²³² "Maryland Portraits": Notes by the late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants.

²³³ L. O. M., P. R. L., Liber C. No. 3, f. 66. This survey calls for the lands of Job Evans (Friends Discovery) and James Morray (Morgan's Delight).

²³⁴ L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 258, Baltimore County.

That section of "Vauxhall" which lies west of Roland Avenue, the former Evans' Chapel Road, or road to Poplar Hill, lies outside the watershed of Stony Run and space will not permit our having much to say about it. It includes part of the Bonaparte-Dohme country estate and part of the former Dushane country-place, now the site of Saint Mary's Seminary. This last, long in the possession of the Evans family, was called "Evansdale."²³⁵ On the Dohme property stood the Evans Chapel, of which presently. That part of "Vauxhall" lying east of Roland Avenue is separated by Stony Run into two parts. On the eastern part stands the Cathedral of Mary our Queen and the Friend's School. On that part which lies between Stony Run and Roland Avenue stand the buildings of the Gilman Country School.

The Gilman Country School property, distinguished as one of the earliest shrines of Methodism, has an otherwise simple, rustic history as the farm and dwelling place of the Evans and Alder families. John Bond bought "Fox Hall" from George Haddoway et uxor, in 1712.²³⁶ Haddoway sold it, in 1727,²³⁷ to Job Evans. This man, in my opinion, was that same Job Evans, who took up "Friend's Discovery" and "Job's Addition" (q. v.), but might have been his son. The older Evans was born about 1656.²³⁸ I have no record of his death. The will of the second Job Evans was proved in 1780.²³⁹ He sold 2 acres of "Fox Hall" to Conrod Smith in 1758.²⁴⁰ In 1770 he sold 50 acres of the same land to Daniel Evans²⁴¹ and, in 1773, leased to him 48 acres, the remainder of "Foxhall," "whereon my dwelling house stands."²⁴²

²³⁵ On Robert Taylor's *Map of Baltimore City and County, 1857*, we find "Evandale" (sic), the property of A. G. Walters.

²³⁶ L. O. M., *Rent Roll of Baltimore County*, Volume 2, f. 384.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*

²³⁸ *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, p. 111.

²³⁹ Wills, Baltimore City and County, Vol. 3, f. 400. The will of another Job Evans, Baltimore County, is dated, 9 June, 1774, and was proved 30 May, 1775. (Magruder's Maryland Colonial Abstracts, Vol. 3, p. 74.) In it he mentions his wife, Mary, and the following children: daughters Sarah, Mary and Elizabeth Evans; sons Charles, John, Robert and Daniel Evans.

²⁴⁰ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber B. No. G., f. 147.

²⁴¹ Balto. Co. Records, Liber A. L. No. B., f. 590. The grantor styles himself "Job Evans, Sr."

²⁴² Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. L. No. H, f. 417.

Daniel Evans, a pioneer of Methodism died in 1812.²⁴³

The old Evans homestead stood on the eastern side of Evan's Chapel Road, now Roland Avenue, a hundred feet farther north than the site of Evan's Chapel,²⁴⁴ which was on the western side of the same road, as will presently appear. It is described, about 1799, as an "old frame dwelling covered with clap boards 22 by 18—addition 17 by 14—log kitchen 24 by 14." Among the improvements on this farm at that date was a stone spring house.²⁴⁵ The old house stood until after 1868, and was destroyed by fire. At that time it was the residence of Michael Alder.

The first Methodist Society in Baltimore County was founded by Strawbridge at the house of Daniel Evans.²⁴⁶ Francis Asbury records in his Journal, under date of March 22, 1774, that he "rode a few miles into the forest [as the "back country" above tidewater was then called] and preached at E's [Daniel Evans's]. He was again "at E's" and preached, on April 24, 1776.²⁴⁷ The Methodist Society, founded at Daniel Evans's, built its

²⁴³ The will of Daniel Evans is dated 9 May, 1812, and was proved July 4, same year. (Wills, Baltimore City and County, Liber 9, f. 250.) In this will the testator mentions his sons, Daniel, William, Job and John Evans, and his daughters, Hannah Evans, Jemima Bowen, Elizabeth Childs, Mary Price, Sarah Green, Ann Bowen and Rebecca Stevenson. In a deed, dated 25 March, 1815, Hannah Evans, relict of Daniel Evans, Benjamin Bowen, of Solomon, husband of the late Jemima Evans, daughter of said Daniel, Elizabeth and Benjamin Childs, Mary and Richard Price, Sarah and Obed Green, Rebeckah and John Stevenson, who are all daughters and sons-in-law of Daniel Evans, Hannah Evans, his daughter, Ruth Evans, his daughter-in-law, and Job Evans, his son, make over to Daniel Evans, Hannah Evans and William Evans, sons and daughter-in-law of Daniel Evans, aforesaid, $33\frac{1}{4}$ acres and some perches, part of "Vaux Hall." (Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 132, f. 159.) The farm of Daniel Evans, the elder, lay on both sides of the road to Poplar Hill, later called Evans Chapel Road, above and below the present Belvedere Avenue. In the aforementioned will Daniel Evans leaves to his wife, Hannah, the use of his present dwelling house and divides his land between his sons Daniel and William. The aforesaid road, which he describes as "passing my dwelling house and barn," was to form part of the division line between the two estates.

²⁴⁴ Methodist Sesqui-Centennial, October 10-14, 1834, p. 26: The First Society at Daniel Evans.

²⁴⁵ Particular Tax List, Lower Patapsco Hundred, Baltimore County (c. 1799-1800). The land is described as "thin." Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, 1876*, shows two small "spring branches" on this property, flowing into Stony Run. I have been told that Indian arrowheads were often found in the fields on this farm.

²⁴⁶ Methodist Sesqui-Centennial, *op. cit.*, *History of Methodism in Maryland*, by Alfred Z. Hartman, 1912, p. 23.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

first chapel (a log house) on Evans's land, on the site of the later (stone) chapel. The latter was built in 1824, on land deeded by Daniel Evans to Messrs. John Kelso, Joseph Merryman, Charles Bryan, Daniel Evans and Hiram Cochran, as tenants in common, in trust, in order that they might build thereon a place of worship for members of the Methodist Episcopal Church.²⁴⁸ It stood until 1853, when permission was obtained of the Maryland Assembly to sell the property.²⁴⁹ The site lies west of Roland Avenue, back of a high retaining wall, on the land lately belonging to Dr. A. R. L. Dohme,²⁵⁰ formerly the Charles Jerome Bonaparte place, part of "Vaux Hall." Until recently two large red oak trees stood close to the site, above the wall. The chapel is described as "a gem of beauty, handsomely arrayed with pulpit and servants gallery."²⁵¹ An early mention of Evans Chapel will be found in a deed, dated, 19 December, 1826, whereby Hannah Evans, widow of Daniel Evans, and her son, William Evans, convey to John Stevenson (her son-in-law) 83 acres, parts of "Vauxhall" and of "Addition to Vauxhall," bounded on the western side of a road described as "the road leading from Poplar Hill farm to the Methodist Meeting House known as Evans Meeting House." This deed included the present Saint Mary's Seminary property.²⁵² In connection with Asbury's visit to Daniel Evans' House an item from the *Maryland Journal* of January 16, 1786, will be of interest. Daniel Evans advertises that he has in his possession a stray cow "which came to his plantation about five miles from Baltimore Town and about one mile from the York Road."

So far as this author is aware, there is not much to say concerning the history of the old Evans farm from the death of

²⁴⁸ Balto Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 170 f. 704. The deed calls for "the road leading through Evans farm," elsewhere referred to as the road to Poplar Hill farm. After the erection of the chapel, this road became known as Evans' Chapel Road. Later it was called Maryland Avenue, and later still Roland Avenue. For "Maryland Avenue" see Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and County, 1877*, p. 52. Roland Avenue absorbed the upper and by far the greater part of Evans' Chapel Road. The lower part is still in use. Evans' Chapel Road, so named, is shown in its entirety on Robert Taylor's Map of the City and County of Baltimore, 1857.

²⁴⁹ *History of Methodism in Maryland, op. cit.*

²⁵⁰ *Methodist Sesqui Centennial, op. cit.*

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

²⁵² Balto Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 186, f. 87.

Daniel Evans, in 1812, until nearly a hundred years later, in 1910, when the Country School for Boys, rechristened the Gilman County School, moved from Homewood to its present location. Daniel Evans, Jr., son of Daniel Evans, the pioneer Methodist, deeded his dwelling plantation and the lands therunto belonging to John Stevenson, his brother-in-law, in 1823.²⁵³ In 1826 he deeded to the aforesaid Stevenson two parcels of land, parts of "Morgan's Delight," which his father had purchased of Charles Rogers, beginning for the second parcel "at a stone placed at the turn of the road leading from Poplar Hill to Evans's Meeting House."²⁵⁴ In 1835 he had a wife named Eleanor.²⁵⁵ On September 19th of the following year Daniel Evans, Jr., probably the same person, obtained a license to marry Ann M. Alder.²⁵⁶ She survived him. John Stevenson, one time Sheriff of Baltimore County, died December 27, 1830. He married, as aforesaid, Rebecca Evans, daughter of Daniel Evans, Sr., who survived him more than fourteen years.²⁵⁷ Mr. Stevenson died possessed of a farm of some 138 acres, consisting of parts of "Vauxhall" and "Addition to Vauxhall," all of which his widow conveyed to Michael Adler, styled "gent.," 2 April, 1832. This estate is described as the plantation and farm on which the said Stevenson resided at the time of his death.²⁵⁸ Michael Adler was an "Old Defender."²⁵⁹ He was born June 4, 1790, and died August 29, 1871.²⁶⁰ His wife was Anne Gorsuch, whom he married in 1814.²⁶¹ In 1841 Mr. Alder purchased a little property of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, known as Chesnut Hill, and (of Elizabeth Childs) a place containing a little over six acres, called Cherry Hill, situ-

²⁵³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 169, f. 14.

²⁵⁴ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 183, f. 203.

²⁵⁵ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 252.

²⁵⁶ Balto. Co. Marriage Licenses.

²⁵⁷ His will is recorded in Wills, Liber 13, folio 500, Baltimore County. In it he mentions the following children: Oliver Perry Stevenson; George Rollsell Stevenson, Evan Stevenson, Rebecca Ann Stevenson, John Wesley Stevenson, and Almira Jemima Stevenson.

²⁵⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. J. No. 219, f. 185.

²⁵⁹ The "Old Defenders" were survivors of the men who defended Baltimore in 1814. Michael Alder was by no means the last of them. The late Dr. J. Hall Pleasants, who was born in 1873, witnessed a parade of "Old Defenders," as he told me.

²⁶⁰ Tombstone in Greenmount Cemetery.

²⁶¹ Balto. Co. Marriage Licenses: Michael Alder and Ann Gorsuch, July 16, 1814. Mrs. Alder died Jan. 6, 1847. (Tombstone in Greenmount Cemetery.)

ated side by side on the north side of the road now called Wyndhurst Avenue, between Roland Avenue and Stony Run, both being parts of "Vauxhall," and so called in deeds of the year 1828.²⁶² That part of "Vauxhall" was later "developed" and called Tuxedo Park. Michael Alder left two children, Daniel Alder and Ann Maria Evans, widow of Daniel Evans, Jr. Not long after their father's death the two heirs divided his real estate between them. Mrs. Evans took the upper part, containing 61 acres and her brother took the lower part, containing 69 acres, being made up of parts of four tracts of land, namely, "Vauxhall," "Addition to Vauxhall," "Morgan's Delight" and "Ridgely's Whim."²⁶³ Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and Its Environs*, 1876, Plate T, shows the two estates side by side, bounded on the west by "Maryland Avenue" (Roland Avenue). The entrance to the Alder place was on Wyndhurst Avenue, the former Cedar Lane. Sidney's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1850, shows the residence of Michael Alder on the east side of the road, now Roland Avenue, above Evans Meeting House, and that of D. Alder below it. Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1857, shows "Vaux Hall—M. Alder" and "Cherry Hill—D. Alder" in the situations aforesaid. Bromley's *Atlas of Baltimore County*, plate 16 (1898), shows the estate of W. P. Harvey [William Pinkney Harvey] 70 acres, bounded on the north by Belvedere Avenue; on the west by Roland Avenue; on the east by the estate of David M. Perine [Homeland]; and on the south by Tuxedo Park.

The later history of the old Evans farm is imperfectly known to this author. Bromley's *Atlas of Baltimore County*, 1898, shows an estate of seventy acres, bounded on the north by Belvedere Avenue, on the west by Roland Avenue, on the east by the lands of David M. Perine, and on the south by Tuxedo Park. Tuxedo Park is bounded on the west by Roland Avenue, on the east by Embla Park, and on the south by Wyndhurst Avenue. It is no other than the old Cherry Hill farm. Embla Park, part of "Vauxhall," or "Fox Hall," is bounded on the

²⁶² Balto Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 308, f. 256; *ibid.*, f. 257. See also Evans to Childs, 1828, 4½ acres, Chesnut Hill, W. G. No. 195, f. 515, and Evans to Childs, 1828, 6 acres and 31 perches, Cherry Hill, *ibid.*, f. 518.

²⁶³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Liber 74, folders 416, 419.

east by Charles Street Avenue, and on the south by Wyndhurst Avenue.

The pre-suburban history of the eastern part of "Vauxhall" is as follows. In 1750 it belonged, mostly, to Joseph England,²⁶⁴ who acquired his part of John Evans, in 1746.²⁶⁵ England sold part of it, in 1756, to Conrod Smith, a Baltimore Town business man, who, in 1758 sold one acre to Job Evans.²⁶⁶ This, the eastern part of "Vauxhall," originally belonged to Job Evans, who sold it to John Evans, in 1739.²⁶⁷ Attention has already been called to a deed, recorded among the Land Records of Baltimore County, and dated, 5 November, 1773, whereby Job Evans conveyed to David Evans his dwelling plantation, part of "Fox Hall," containing forty-eight acres. The eastern boundary of this property, as called for in the aforesaid deed, was to be a "run," "the eastern boundary between my land and Peter Woolrick." This run was Stony Run.

I do not know who this Peter Woolrick was, how he acquired possession of part of "Fox Hall" or "Vauxhall," or when he died. Job Evans executed a bill of sale to Sarah Woolerick (*sic*), in 1778.²⁶⁸ About 1799 Philip Woolrick paid taxes on "100 acres say 98" of land, part of "Vaux-hall (*sic*)." He is described as the owner and occupant. The land is called "poor & no timber." On it stood a log barn, forty by twenty feet, with "stable sheds," an old one story frame dwelling house, twenty-seven by eighteen feet, and old log dwelling house, twenty-four by sixteen, an old log kitchen, twenty by sixteen feet, and a log spring house.²⁶⁹

Philip Woolrick married and had issue three daughters, namely: Elizabeth, Jemima and Rebecca. Elizabeth Woolrick married William Parlett.²⁷⁰ She died in 1828, leaving a widower and ten children. Jemima Woolrick married Henry Fahey. Rebecca Woolrick died unmarried. The father conveyed to

²⁶⁴ Calvert Papers, No. 904, f. 83: Baltimore County Debt Book, 1750.

who acquired his part of John Evans, in 1746.²⁶⁵ England sold

²⁶⁵ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber B. B. No. J., f. 637.

²⁶⁶ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber B. No. G., f. 223.

²⁶⁷ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber H. W. S. No. I, f. 251.

²⁶⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. B., f. 155.

²⁶⁹ Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, (c. 1799-1800).

²⁷⁰ Balto. Co. Marriage Licenses, 1777-1799: William Parlett and Elizabeth Woolrich, May 7, 1795.

his three daughters his part of "Vauxhall," 100 acres, and part of "Addition to Vauxhall," in 1797.²⁷¹ In 1818 the Parletts and the Faheys divided this property between them. The former got the upper part, containing 60 acres, and the latter the lower or southern part, containing 52½ acres.²⁷² In 1837 David M. Perine, of "Homeland," bought the Parlett property of the Messrs. Ward, Winder, McElderry, McCoy, guardians of the children of the deceased Mrs. Parlett,²⁷³ and the following year he purchased the Fahey property of Mrs. Fahey.²⁷⁴ These lands so purchased included all the land now bounded by Belvedere Avenue, Charles Street Avenue, Wyndhurst Avenue and Stony Run. Mr. Perine did not retain possession of the southern part of the land above mentioned,²⁷⁵ but continued all the remainder of his life in possession of the northern part, which was incorporated in Homeland.

The late Washington Perine, Esq., of Homeland, gave the author the following information regarding the Parlett house:

It stood for some years on the western portion of the estate (Homeland), about 150 feet south of the (later) line of Belvedere Avenue, and west of the line of the (later) Charles Street. After the second Homeland house (1839-1843) was destroyed by fire, Mr. Perine put his manager in this Parlett house, and occupied the manager's house while he was building the third house. The site of the Cathedral of Mary Our Queen is a part of the old Parlett farm.

Mr. Washington Perine also informed the author that the land where the buildings of the Friends School stand, was called Fahey's Meadow.

POPLAR HILL

The exclusive suburban neighborhood known as Poplar Hill is a subject which does not, strictly speaking, belong to this article, since Poplar Hill lies to the west of Roland Avenue and the ridge which bounds the Stony Run valley on its western

²⁷¹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 51, f. 695.

²⁷² Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 150, f. 122.

²⁷³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 275, f. 13.

²⁷⁴ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 277, f. 193.

²⁷⁵ Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876*, plate T, shows this property in the hands of Messrs. Wilson and Perry, whoever they may have been. By 1798 (Bromley, plate 16) it was Embla Park, bounded on the north by Homeland.

side. However, we have decided to include it, believing that these notes will interest a number of readers. Poplar Hill is part of "Morgan's Delight." The name of the place is probably considerably older than can be proved by existent records. The following advertisement appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of June 3, 1785:

"Excellent Pasturage to be had at Poplar-Hill, where the Reverend Mr. Andrews now lives, six miles from Baltimore. Enquire of the subscriber, near the Premises. Daniel Evans."

In the *Maryland Journal* of May 1, 1787, John Merryman offers to let "that beautiful country seat called Poplar-Hill, six miles from Town."

In the Federal Gazette of July 16, 1796, William R. Smith [William Rogers Smith] offers Poplar Hill for sale, which he describes as follows:

"that beautifully situated farm called Poplar Hill, about five miles from Baltimore, in sight of the Turnpike road leading towards Little York, containing about 200 acres, the improvements with very little repairs will be comfortable for a genteel family." Interested parties are invited to make application to Mr. Smith or to John Merryman.

In the *Maryland Journal* of July 25, 1794, John Merryman offers to rent "Poplar Hill, the plantation where Benjamin Rogers's family now lives, 6 miles from Baltimore."

John Stevenson, "living on Poplar Hill," advertised for sale in the (Baltimore) American of March 27, 1805, land on the Falls Turnpike Road.

This place was long associated with the Rogers family. Captain William Rogers, of Baltimore Town (1704-1761), son of Nicholas Rogers and Eleanor (Gorsuch?) Rogers, of Patapsco River, owned 318 acres of "Morgan's Delight" in 1750.²⁷⁶ In his will, dated 5 June, 1761, Captain Rogers leaves part of "Morgan's Delight" to his daughter, Sarah, and the remainder to his son, Charles Rogers.²⁷⁷ Sarah Rogers married John Addison Smith (d. 1776), and was the mother of William Rogers Smith. Later she married John Merryman. All of these people were associated with the history of Poplar Hill.

²⁷⁶ Calvert Papers No. 904, Baltimore County Debt Book, 1750, f. 106.

²⁷⁷ Wills, Baltimore County, Md., Liber 2, f. 319.

In the past century Poplar Hill farm belonged to the Ward family. John W. Ward, son of the Hon. William Henry Ward, of Cecil County, and Baltimore, Maryland (d. 1827) purchased two parts or parcels of "Morgan's Delight" in 1829, in all about one hundred and forty acres.²⁷⁸ He made his home at Poplar Hill, and died, November 20, 1856, in his sixty-third year. Late in life he was Judge of the Orphans Court of Baltimore County. Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1857, shows "Poplar Hill," the residence of John W. Ward. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and its Environs*, 1876, Volume 1, Plate Y, shows the lands of "Heirs of Ward," bounded as follows: on the east by Maryland Avenue (now Roland Avenue); on the south by Robert Lehr Lane; on the west by the lands of Lord and Lehr; on the north-west by the land of Robert T. Jenkins. This map shows the Ward residence, situated on the Western side of Maryland Avenue, about 700 feet south of Lake Avenue. The original Ward house burned down and was replaced by a stone house, which also was destroyed by fire.²⁷⁹ Mr. Ward is described as a stern man, as became a judge. The Wards rebuilt their dwelling house and were living there as late as the 1880's.²⁸⁰ Later, it was the home of Francis White. It stood on the site of the Convent of the Visitation.²⁸¹

The Poplar Hill farm comprised that part of "Morgan's Delight" which Captain William Rogers left to his daughter, Sarah, who married John Addison Smith, from whom it descended to their son, William Rogers Smith (q. v.). The improvements on this farm, which is designated in the record as Poplar Hill, the property of William R. Smith, of Baltimore, were mostly as follows:

An old 2 story framed dwelling & lately painted up tho still out of repair 30 by 30. old 1 sto[ry] wing including kitchen

²⁷⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Deeds, Liber W. G. No. 201, f. 641.

²⁷⁹ I had this information from Miss Elizabeth Roberts Ward, granddaughter of Judge John W. Ward and daughter of Judge William H. Ward.

²⁸⁰ Mr. M. Ernest Jenkins told me, in 1944, that about sixty years since the Wards lived in this house and used to visit his father.

²⁸¹ I am indebted to Mrs. Thomas Gresham Machen for this information. Mrs. Machen told me that she had it from old Mrs. Penniman, who was a Dushane. Mrs. Penniman's family owned the country-seat at the corner of Belvedere and Roland Avenues, on which Saint Mary's Seminary now stands.

36 by 18. Poultry house 12 by 12. Hip roofed out House 14 by 12.²⁸²

Mr. Smith sold Poplar Hill, in 1799,²⁸³ to his father-in-law, Cumberland Dugan, who, in 1801, conveyed it to Charles Rogers for £2775, containing a little over 231 acres.²⁸⁴ On April 25th of the same year Mr. Rogers disposed of this land, selling 60 acres to William Stevenson, 83 acres to John Stevenson and 60 acres to Daniel Evans.²⁸⁵ John Stevenson sold his part to Robert Sinclair. He bought Daniel Evans's part in 1826.

So it is that the names of Rogers and Smith, Stevenson, Sinclair, Evans and Ward figure very largely in the rustic history of Poplar Hill. The dividing line between Poplar Hill and the land inherited by Charles Rogers runs close to Roland Avenue.

GASTON-SPRINGVALE-THE ORCHARDS

Charles Rogers lived on that part of "Morgan's Delight" which he inherited from his father and died there in December, 1805.²⁸⁶

The improvements on this property, as of 1799-1800,²⁸⁷ seem primitive to us when it is remembered that Mr. Rogers was a "gentleman," according to ideas and prejudices then in vogue in Maryland:

The farm is described as containing 157 acres, part of "Morgan's Delight," situated "near Govans Town." On it were "an old framed Barn 40 by 30 with cattle sheds." "An old 1 story framed dwelling 20 by 16 addition of a room 15 by 12. old log kitchen 16 by 16. a rough shed passage way from the kitchen to the house. Log milk house 12 by 17. 2 old hen houses 8 by 8. All very ordinary." The assessor has entered this com-

²⁸² Particular Tax List, Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, (c. 1799-1800.

²⁸³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 58, f. 408.

²⁸⁴ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 68, f. 151.

²⁸⁵ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 66, folios 380, 381, 383.

²⁸⁶ Notice of death of Mr. Charles Rogers in *American*, Baltimore, January, 1806. The deceased died in his 64th year "at his seat near this city." He was buried December 30th, "at his farm" (Register, St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore County).

²⁸⁷ Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County c. 1799-1800.

ment in his report: "I suspect this tract contains more land." Apparently, such was the case.

It lay within the area now bounded (closely) on the west by Charles Street Avenue, and on the south by Belvedere Avenue, and was divided into two parts by Lake Avenue.²⁸⁸ Its western boundary, between Belvedere Avenue and Lake Avenue is very close to Roland Avenue.

A picture quite different from the one presented in the tax list above cited is given us in an advertisement published in the *American*, Baltimore, March 22, 1808, wherein Henry Bayley, son-in-law of the deceased Charles Rogers, offers this farm for rent, as follows:

"An elegant farm to rent. That handsome farm, late the residence of Charles Rogers, deceased, within one mile of Govan's. The Farm contains about 400 acres, is in a high state of cultivation, and has an excellent apple orchard, the fruit of which that may be raised this year may be fairly calculated to yield 1500 dollars. On this farm is a large quantity of meadow supposed to be equal to any in this country, the dwelling house is in thorough repair, with every necessary back buildings and a large quarter. The whole of the buildings on this farm are all new and in complete repair. There is a very large garden and in the highest state of cultivation."

Charles Rogers married Sarah Hopkins, probably one of the Hopkins of "Friends Discovery" and, so to speak, a next-door neighbor.²⁸⁹ He left four daughters only one of whom, Sarah, had issue. She married Henry Bailey, by whom she had an only child, Araminta Rogers Bailey, who, on June 30th, 1825,²⁹⁰ married William Sidney Winder. Mrs. Winder survived her husband. Her death is recorded as follows in the *American*, of February 19, 1845:

Died February 12th, at the home of R. B. Dorsey, Mrs. Araminta R. Winder, relict of the late William Sidney Winder, of Gaston, Baltimore County, aged 38 years.

²⁸⁸ The author is reasonably certain that the second, third and fourth courses of a deed already mentioned, namely, Charles Rogers to William Stevenson, part of "Morgan's Delight," 25 April, 1801, follow a road, which, if this is true, can not be any other than the road which now already for years past has gone by the name of Lake Avenue. It is my opinion that Lake Avenue was laid out many years before 1801.

²⁸⁹ Mrs. Rogers had brothers Nicholas and Joseph Hopkins.

²⁹⁰ Register of the First Presbyterian Church of Baltimore, Maryland.

Not long after Mrs. Winder's death the Rogers-Winder estate was advertised for sale. This advertisement appeared in the *American* of June 4, 1845, and reads as follows:

GASTON. For sale. Under the will of Mrs. Araminta Winder, that valuable farm in Baltimore County known as the late residence of William S. Winder, Esq. It is situated on the road leading from Govanstown to the Falls Turnpike, and is about 5 miles from the city limits. It contains about 300 acres of land, and may conveniently be divided into two farms. The county road [now called Lake Avenue] divides it into two nearly equal parts. It is in an improving, healthy [sic] and prosperous neighborhood, adjoining the lands of Mrs. Baker, Messrs. Beatty, Bonaparte, Duer, Perine, Ward and Alder. The land is naturally good quality and easily improved. The improvements consist of a comfortable frame dwelling house, new stone barn, ice house, dairy and all the necessary out buildings. The title is indisputable, having been in the family for nearly a century. [This was true]²⁰¹ The property will be shewn by Mr. Ward on the adjoining farm or Mr. Hopkins on the premises.

Whence is derived this name of Gaston, by which this undoubtedly lovely farm was called in the days of the Winders, and, perhaps, even earlier? Probably from England. According to Bartholomew's *Gazetteer of the British Isles*, ninth edition, there are three English Gastons, namely: Gaston Green, a locality in Essex; Gaston Grange, a "seat" in Hants; Gaston House, "seat" at Little Hallingbury, W. Essex.

After the Winders came the Wilsons. James Wilson (1775-1879), a wealthy and socially prominent Baltimore merchant, purchased the farm, which contained three hundred and twenty-nine acres, from Messrs. John M. Ward and Thomas M. Emory, devisees in trust of Araminta Winder, in 1846,²⁰² and settled

²⁰¹ As we have already observed, Captain William Rogers, Mrs. Winder's great-grandfather, paid taxes on 318 acres of "Morgan's Delight" in 1750. He purchased 150 acres of this tract of land from the Murrays, in 1743 (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. B. No. C, f. 646) and 40 acres more, in 1747 (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. B. No. E, f. 639). I can not account for the rest. His last purchase was made in 1753, when he bought 40 additional acres of this land.

²⁰² Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 369: two deeds, Messrs. Ward and Emory to James Wilson, dated, respectively, July 13, and July 30, 1846.

his son, William C. Wilson, there, to live the life of a country gentleman. The son seems to have lived that agreeable life with great credit to himself. William C. Wilson (c. 1809-1878), was a brother of David Shields Wilson, of "Kernewood" (q. v.). He became noted as an authority on horticulture, especially pomology. This interest may have been suggested and furthered by apple orchards already standing on "Gaston," and dating from the time of Mr. Rogers (see above). On this farm, the name of which the Wilsons changed to "Springvale,"²⁹³ Mr. Wilson introduced a herd of Alderney cattle, the first in Maryland. He was a prominent member of the Horticultural Society of Maryland, and his cattle took prizes many times over the years at its exhibitions.²⁹⁴ His house at "Springvale" was a bachelor's hall, for he never married. It was a frame house and stood on a hill between Melrose Avenue and Castlewood Road, nearly opposite the entrance to Bryn Mawr School.²⁹⁵

It is uncertain whether any building, dating from the time of the Wilsons, or earlier, is still standing on "Springvale," now or lately called "The Orchards." A stone structure, reputed to be old and once used as a stable, was lately occupied by Bryn Mawr School as a gymnasium. It seems possible that this is the new stone barn mentioned in the advertisement of 1845 (q. v.).²⁹⁶

The late Douglas Huntly Gordon, Sr. (1866-1918), an account of whose life will be found in Volume 2 of Andrews' Tercentenary History of Maryland, purchased about one hundred and twenty acres of Springvale farm near the turn of the

The two parcels of land, containing, respectively, 142 acres, and 187 acres, were separated by the "road leading from Govans town to the Falls Turnpike road" and were parts of "Morgans Delight."

²⁹³ Called "Springvale" on Sidney and Browne's *Map of Baltimore City and County*, 1850, on Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1857, and on G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore City and its Environs*, 1876, Volume 1, Plate Y.

²⁹⁴ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society.

²⁹⁵ I am indebted to Dr. Douglas Huntly Gordon for this information, as well as for other valuable and interesting data about "The Orchards," his father's country seat, the former "Springvale." Dr. Gordon is the author of a most agreeable article which was reprinted and published in the magazine of the Roland Park Company, *Gardens, Houses and People*, November, 1937.

²⁹⁶ This relatively old building is mentioned by Dr. Douglas H. Gordon in his aforementioned article in *Gardens, Houses and People*.

century, changed the name of the place to "The Orchards," and built on the site of the Wilson orchard the country house, still standing in the grounds of Bryn Mawr School and assigned to the purposes of the school. There were then standing on this farm, in addition to the stone stable above mentioned, a small stone house once occupied by the Monahan family, managers of the farm, and an old dairy, which was pulled down. The Gordons got their supply of water from the walled spring called the Indian Spring, one of the sources of Stony Run, which has already been mentioned.²⁹⁷

STONY RUN: THE MILL STREAM

Stony Run, as we have already observed, developed no water power of any economic importance, until it was joined, a short distance above Cold Spring Lane, by the stream which, for want of a name, it pleases us to call the Homeland Branch. Below that point, in the course of its history, and before the natural characteristics of its valley were devastated by suburbanization and sub-division, Stony Run supported no less than four grist mills, three of which were in operation at the same time. Although it was fed by not less than thirty springs, cold, calculating experts did not think highly of Stony Run as a source of water power. One described it was "a weak stream." Interested parties, who had mills or mill sites to sell, expressed themselves in more favorable terms.

In the *Maryland Gazette* and *Baltimore Commercial Advertiser* of June 17, 1788, there was offered for sale a mill-seat "on Ensor's Run" "late the property of Mr. Pennington" [Josias Pennington, a mill-owner, ancestor of a prominent Baltimore family]. The site was in what is now the lower end of Wyman Park, or a little below it, near Jones's Falls. It is described as a place suitable for a paper mill, an oil mill, a merchant mill, or a saw-mill, where a ledge of rocks partly dispensed with the necessity of building a dam.

An advertisement in the *American*, Baltimore, March 16, 1815, praises the advantages of another Stony Run mill-seat, higher up-stream, on a tract of land of one hundred acres,

²⁹⁷ Information for which I am indebted to Dr. Douglas H. Gordon.

heavily timbered, "which proceeds from Dr. Fendall's farm." A "never failing branch with a great fall for water works" flowed through this property. It was Stony Run.

The cold, practical point of view we get from Mr. Jared Sparks, who, in 1825, published, in the *North American Review*, his "Summary Statement of Millstreams in the Vicinity of Baltimore," from which we glean the following information:

Great Gunpowder Falls had a total capacity, expressed in pairs of six-foot millstones, of seventy-five; Patapsco Falls had a capacity of forty-five; Gwins Falls, 30; Jones's Falls, 25; Little Gunpowder Falls, 16; Herring Run, 4; Winters Run, 11; and Union Run [Stony Run], 2. In terms of horsepower, Patapsco Falls developed 450; Great Gunpowder Falls, 750; The Little Falls of Gunpowder, 160; Jones's Falls, 250; Gwins Falls, 300; Herring Run, 40; Winters Run, 110; Union Run, 20. Jones's Falls had 13 flour mills; Gwins Falls had 10; Herring Run had 5; and Union Run had three, and one chocolate mill.²⁹⁸ On this stream there was "no unoccupied mill power."

ENSOR'S AND FELL'S MILL

Reference has already been made to a survey and plat, showing the estate of Joseph Ensor as it was in the year 1770, composed of 75 acres, being the northern half of "Mount Pleasant," and 105 acres, the southern half of "Merryman's Lot" and other tracts of land, containing in all 1195 $\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and situated in the Stony Run valley, extending westwards to Jones's Falls. The survey was made by Mr. Ensor, himself, with the assistance of Job Garrettson. On my copy of this plat I have endorsed: "Carroll-Maccubbin Papers."²⁹⁹ On the plat is indicated, on the western side of Stony Run, within Ensor's part of "Mount Pleasant," the site of an "old mill." According to my calculations, this site is about three hundred feet below the Stony Run bridge on University Parkway.

There is hardly room for doubt that this "old mill" was built by Messrs. John Ensor and William Fell. On March 24, 1739, an inquisition *ad quod damnum* was held on their behalf in order to determine the value of a parcel of land, containing

²⁹⁸ The author has failed in an effort to identify the site of this chocolate mill.

²⁹⁹ It is my belief that these papers were part of the manuscript collections of the Maryland Historical Society, but a recent search failed to discover them.

twenty acres, situated upon the Great Run [Stony Run], upon which the Messrs. Ensor and Fell intended to erect a water mill.³⁰⁰ It was ascertained by the commissioners appointed to make this inquest, that the land belonged partly to Mr. Ensor and partly to John Merryman.³⁰¹ A survey was made, beginning at a large stone marked "W. E. and 1739,"³⁰² a landmark which has not been found, but which may still be intact. William Fell made over his rights in this mill seat to John Ensor in 1745.³⁰³ It lies on both sides of Stony Run, both above and below University Parkway. Close to the northern side of University Parkway bridge Stony Run falls over an outcropping of igneous rocks in a cascade or slide. Here, in times past, when the stream had a flow sufficient to run a mill, water power might have been conveniently developed.

VAN BIBBER'S, PARADISE OR KENSINGTON MILL
PARADISE FARM-KENSINGTON

The mill known as Van Bibber's, or Paradise Mill, stood on Stony Run, a short distance above the site of University Parkway, and was accessible by way of Merryman's Lane. The following entry will be found in a Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, *c.* 1799-1800:

610 acres. Ridgely's Whim—Rachel Lix owner. Thomas D. Cockey, occupant. "This Land lays above the mill of Ab^m Van Bibber Esq^r."

A deed from James Barry, of the city of Washington, gent., to Charles Carroll, Jr., of Baltimore County, dated 12 February, 1801, conveys to the aforesaid Carroll one-half part of "Merryman's Lott," or "Liliendale."³⁰⁴ This was the future Homewood. The deed calls for "a stone in Vanbibbers Road." This road was Merryman's Lane.

³⁰⁰ Chancery Record, Liber I.R. No. 4, 1738-1746 (Ad quod damnum proceedings), f. 56.

³⁰¹ It was part of "Mount Pleasant" and part of "Merryman's Addition."

³⁰² I do not know what these initials stand for. The rock on which they were engraved was close to the site of University Parkway and the Stony Run bridge and may have been destroyed.

³⁰³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. B. No. 3, f. 123.

³⁰⁴ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 66, f. 409.

A deed from Job Merryman to Ebenezer Smith Thomas, dated December 8, 1809, conveys to the aforesaid Thomas $74\frac{1}{2}$ acres, part of "Merryman's Lot" and part of "Huntington," beginning at the North East corner of James Wilson's Lot on the west side of the York Turnpike road and running thence North 81 degrees West 30 perches, unto a stone, thence South 38 degrees West 33 perches unto a stone on the east side of the road leading to Van Bibber's mill, then bounding on the said road North 50 degrees West 33 perches unto the branch" [Edwards; later Sumwalt's Run].³⁰⁵ This, too, was Merryman's Lane. Mr. Thomas was the man who assembled the Guilford estate.

On Kearney's Sketch of the Military Topography of Baltimore and Vicinity, made by order of General Winder, 1814, we observe a road leading out of the York Road in a westerly direction and crossing Stony Run (not named) a very short distance below a mill which is designated as "Richardson's." This road can not be any other than Merryman's Lane, and the mill, as we shall presently see, is no other than Van Bibber's or Paradise Mill.

In the Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, c. 1799-1800, Van Bibber's Mill got a very low rating. We quote from this tax list:

Abraham Van Biller—Paradise—190 acres say 188—A Thundergust Mill a 2 sto Mill House of stone very rough and com. [common] 32 by 18. The stream on which the mill is fix^d is quite insufficient to work her.

Other improvements on Paradise Farm were: "A new wood dwelling house 32 by 18. old log ditto 75 by 14."³⁰⁶

Abraham Van Bibber, generally styled "Esq." or "gent," but called "Dr." by the historian Scharf, appears to have settled in Baltimore County by 1780,³⁰⁷ and died at his farm, Paradise,

³⁰⁵ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 104, f. 244.

³⁰⁶ These particular tax-lists of Baltimore County, c. 1799-1800, are made out in two parts. The first part names the improvements on two acres of land, usually the dwelling house and outbuildings. The second part commonly names the improvements on the residue of the land, if any.

³⁰⁷ See note §11. 1780 is the year of his deed from Daniel Bowly. In the first Baltimore City Directory, 1796, his residence is listed as 96 Hanover Street; but the very same year he advertised in the *Federal Gazette*, February 29, "for

"his late residence," 23 August, 1805, aged sixty-one.³⁰⁸ He was born in Cecil County, Maryland, and was of Dutch extraction. He was married twice, first, it is said, to Miss (Sarah) Chew³⁰⁹ and, secondly, in 1795,³¹⁰ to Mary Young, daughter of Samuel Young, Esq., of "Young's Escape," Baltimore County, and his wife, Rebecca (Young) Stokes, only child of Col. William Young (d. 1772) of "Nanjemoy," Baltimore County, and Clare, his wife, daughter of Major Nicholas Sewell, and widow of Thomas Tasker. The second Mrs. Van Bibber was a half-sister of Robert Young Stokes, who laid out the town of Havre-de-Grace on his own plantation. She survived her husband and married, 2nd, James M. Cresap. Her portrait, by "Billy" West, is one of the illustrations of Dr. J. Hall Pleasant's monograph on the life and work of West in "Art in America," January, 1949. Mr. Van Bibber is not known to have had any children.

Paradise Mill stood on "Ridgely's Whim." Who built this mill I do not know. Abraham Van Bibber made his first purchase of land in this neighborhood when, in 1780, he bought of Daniel Bowly, a little over $10\frac{1}{2}$ acres of "Ridgely's Whim" and $17\frac{1}{2}$ acres of an adjoining tract of land called "Convenience."³¹¹ In 1782 he purchased of Darby Lux $54\frac{3}{4}$ acres of "Ridgely's Whim."³¹² In 1802 he bought of James McCormick and his wife, Rachel McCormick some 225 acres of land, parts of "Ridgely's Whim" and "Bryan's Chance."³¹³ These

sale or lease the house he lives in on Howard's Hill," which according to my opinion, was the ridge on which Eutaw Street was laid out about 1783. In 1808, his widow lived at 95 Hanover Street. This is all very perplexing.

³⁰⁸ Notice in the *Federal Gazette* of 23 August, 1805 (from Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society). In his will, dated 11 June, 1805, he calls himself "of Baltimore County, gent." He leaves his estate in that county, called Paradise, to his two nephews, Andrew Van Bibber, of Mathews County, Va., and Washington Van Bibber, of Maryland. (Baltimore County Wills, Liber VII, f. 436.)

³⁰⁹ Mackenzie's *Colonial Families of the U. S.*, Vol. I, p. 538, has it that his first wife was a Miss Chew. Mrs. Sarah Van Bibber, "consort of Abraham Van Bibber, Esq.," died 22 July, 1795, aged 58. (*Telegraph*, 24 July, 1795; from Dielman Biographical Index.)

³¹⁰ *Telegraph*, 22 Nov., 1795.

³¹¹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. L. No. F, f. 254. The same year, August 8, Isaac and Abraham Van Bibber and company, Fells Point, Baltimore, published an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette*.

³¹² Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. G., f. 410.

³¹³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 74, f. 406.

and a few other purchases of land made up the farm which was known as Paradise and gave its name to the mill.

Paradise Farm lay on both sides of Stony Run, from Cold Spring Lane nearly to University Parkway. It extended eastwards from Stony Run across Charles Street Avenue below Cold Spring Lane. North of Cold Spring Lane it took in the Young and Crocker estates and the present Loyola College property. The northwestern corner of Guilford is part of it.

In spite of the name which he bestowed upon Paradise Farm, Mr. Van Bibber was not deterred from offering both the farm and the mill for sale. His advertisement appeared in the *Federal Gazette* and *Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of February 15, 1802. From this advertisement we glean the facts that the farm contained 250 acres, two hundred of which were in woods, the remainder, "in a high cultivation." These properties were not sold, however, during his lifetime. In the *American*, of July 6th, 1804, he offered for sale his mill, together with 150 acres of land, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Baltimore, "adjoining my place called Paradise." In the years immediately following his death Paradise mill was several times offered for sale.³¹⁴

Arnold Richardson entered into possession of Paradise Mill in 1809.³¹⁵ He called it Kensington Mill, but the popular

³¹⁴ First, by Andrew Van Bibber and Washington Van Bibber, in the *American* of February 19, 1806. The farm contained 300 acres and the mill is described as "valuable." Next, by Thomas Chase, auctioneer, in the *American* of August 20th following. The mill was to be sold separately. Lastly, by Washington Van Bibber, in the *American*, of Dec. 31, 1808, the mill, with seven acres of land. It is described as having the advantage of a "good stream" and being situated four miles from Baltimore, and about one from the York Road, adjoining the lands of Arnold Richardson, Joseph Merryman and James McCormick. I have no record of Arnold Richardson owning land in that neighborhood at that date, but he was to be the next owner of Paradise Mill and of part of Paradise farm.

³¹⁵ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. 197, f. 488: deed, Washington Van Bibber of Frederick County, Md., to George H. Stewart of Baltimore City, a lot of ground, part of "Ridgely's Whim," containing 6 acres and $\frac{3}{4}$ acres and 24 square perches, consideration: one dollar. This deed recites that the aforesaid lot is the same property as that which is described in a bond, dated 29 August, 1809, wherein the aforesaid Van Bibber entered into a contract to convey the aforesaid parcel of land "whereon a grist mill was erected," to Arnold Richardson; that the said bond was duly executed and sale of said land duly made by said Van Bibber to said Richardson, but no deed was executed by Van Bibber to Richardson in the latter's lifetime. Together with the mill lot, aforesaid, there was "reserved to the purchaser by this deed ground for the mill pool and mill race." Descendants of the Ridgelys still laid claim to his mill lot. On May 18, 1818, Edward Fendall and Frances his

name survived. In 1810 he purchased of Washington Van Bibber two parcels of land, containing, respectively, 73 acres and 51 acres, not counting rods and perches.³¹⁶ These lands he called Kensington. He died November 28, 1813, aged thirty-eight and his widow, Mary Richardson, died February 13, 1843. Little or nothing seems to be known about him, but, to judge by the inventory of his estate, he might have lived rather elegantly.³¹⁷ He provided Kensington with a large stone house, and built a stone barn, which stood across his mill race.

The following advertisement appeared in the (Baltimore) *American* of January 26, 1815:

To Rent for one or two years. Kensington Mill, formerly belonging to A. Vanbibber, with a Dwelling House attached to it suitable for a small family, situated about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Baltimore, with water sufficient to run two pair of stones, and has a good share of town and country custom, etc. Signed Mary Richardson.

In the *American* of August 6, 1816, Mrs. Richardson advertised for rent for one, two or three years, to a good tenant—

Kensington Farm, near the York Turnpike Road, containing about 100 acres, part good meadow land, the rest upland for small grain, divided into different fields, with a good post and rail fence—an extensive falling garden, sufficient with industry to raise vegetables together with fruits of different kinds to pay the rent—the improvements consist of one large Dwelling House calculated to accommodate two families, with separate kitchens, a new stone barn and stables, carriage house and sheds, etc.

Kensington farm was advertised for sale in the *Federal Gazette* of January 7, 1826, and again, in the same newspaper, May 20th following, by George Stewart, Trustee. It is variously described as containing 125 and 130 acres of land, one-

wife deeded to the aforementioned George H. Stewart, trustee, a lot called the Mill Lot, part of "Ridgely's Whim," containing six and three quarters acres of land, on which premises the old mill stands. (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 149, f. 169.) This deed recites among other facts that Thomas Dye Cockey, on March 23, 1809, did bind himself to Arnold Richardson for the sale of a certain part of "Ridgely's Whim," namely the aforesaid Mill Lot.

³¹⁶ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 197, f. 488.

³¹⁷ Balto. Co. Records, Inventories, Liber XVIII, f. 377. Estate of Arnold Richardson, appraised, 1814. The deceased had a "four wheeled coach and harness," appraised at \$250.00.

fourth of which was in woods, "a considerable part in meadow that may be covered with water." On the property stood a very large stone dwelling house and a large stone barn. An apple orchard was another asset of this estate. "There is also on the land a good stone mill having attached to it the necessary buildings."

The Paradise Mill property was sold at auction, January 19, 1826, to Charles Gwinn, for a consideration of \$3,000.00. The mill lot contained $7\frac{3}{4}$ acres of land. George H. Stewart, Trustee, gave him a deed, dated July 26, 1836.³¹⁸ Mr. Gwinn held this mill property about fourteen years. On June 26, 1740, Messrs. Evans and Worthington, sold it to a Mr. Samuel Buckman,³¹⁹ who in turn sold it to Larkin Read, May 16, 1846.³²⁰ We have already taken note of the fact that Larkin Read was a miller.³²¹ The land so conveyed included not only the mill but the mill pond and mill race. On J. C. Sidney and P. J. Browne's *Map of Baltimore City and County*, 1850, we find: "Paradise Mill—L. Reed" (proprietor). Mr. Read sold the mill lots and mill, May 5, 1855, to Robert Turner, May 5, 1855. The land so deeded is described as "formerly the property of Arnold Richardson."³²²

Mr. Turner held on to his Paradise Mill estate for a goodly number of years, and, unless I am much mistaken, he died possessed of it. I believe that he may have made it his country seat, and that in the course of the more than forty years during which he was the owner, the old mill must have fallen into disuse. Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore*, 1857, shows Mr. Turner as already in possession of Paradise Mill. Bromley's *Atlas of the City of Baltimore*, 1896, shows "R. Turner" in possession of the mill lot. Mr. Turner died January 3, 1898.³²³

Robert Turner, born 1818, in Baltimore, was the head of the grain commission firm of Robert Turner and Sons, Balti-

³¹⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 266, f. 70. A plat, made by James Bouldin, the surveyor, accompanies this deed, showing the land conveyed, the mill dam, mill pool and mill race.

³¹⁹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 329, f. 126.

³²⁰ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 336, f. 67.

³²¹ See under "Linkwood."

³²² Balto. Co. Land Records, Towson, Md., Deeds, Liber 13, f. 52.

³²³ Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society.

more, Maryland. He was a pillar of Old Caroline Street M. E. Church. A Republican, he was once elected to the Maryland House of Delegates.³²⁴

On G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and Its Environs, 1876*, Plate "S", the course of Union Run (Stony Run) between Cold Spring Lane and Merryman's Lane, with relation to the mill pond, the mill race and Paradise Mill (Robert Turner, proprietor) is shown in great detail. About one hundred and seventy-five feet above Merryman's Lane and Guilford branch, coming down from Guilford, the Abell estate, enters Stony, or Union, Run.³²⁵ About the same distance farther up the run is the mouth of the mill race, and nearly an equal distance up the mill race stands the mill.³²⁶ The head of the mill pond is about three hundred feet below Cold Spring Lane. The mill pond or pool is about four hundred feet long; the mill dam, about two hundred feet in length.

A large part of Kensington farm was included in a deed from George H. Stewart, trustee for the sale of the real estate of Arnold Richardson, to Jeremiah Tittle, dated, September 17, 1828.³²⁷ On December 1, following, Mr. Tittle sold part of this property, bordering on the south side of Cold Spring Lane, to John Gibson.³²⁸ In Stewart's deed to Tittle there was reserved to Charles Gwinn "right to 16 feet on each side the canal or mill race and mill pond or pool passing through the same to keep them in order, said privilege not to be exercised to the prejudice of the proprietor of the land above described or to prejudice the barn and stables then erected across and

³²⁴ Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Maryland and District of Columbia. Baltimore, 1879. Obituary Notice in *The Sun*, Jan. 4, 1898. This notice has it that he died "at his home on Blithewood Avenue, Roland Park." Blithewood Avenue is now Oakdale Road. Mr. Turner had eight children, one of whom, Barrida Turner, was Clerk of the Circuit Court No. 2, Baltimore City. A daughter, Katherine, married Benjamin Kurtz, and was the mother of Benjamin Turner Kurtz, distinguished sculptor, who died in Mexico, in 1960. The author is indebted to his daughter, Miss Louise Hall Kurtz, for identifying her great-grandfather Turner as the owner of Paradise Mill.

³²⁵ The lower and upper courses of this stream are now covered by storm sewers, the middle course, below Charles Street, is still open. There is still considerable water in it at its outlet, even in rather dry summer weather. It does not appear to be polluted.

³²⁶ I should estimate the distance from the site of Paradise Mill to University Parkway bridge over Stony Run to be about five hundred feet.

³²⁷ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 197, f. 59.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 62. In this deed Stony Run is called "Union Run."

above the said mill race or which might at any time thereafter be erected." On G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876*, the aforesaid barn is shown, straddling the mill race, between 375 and 400 feet below the mill dam.

Jeremiah Tittle was a merchant tailor, whose place of business was on Calvert Street, Baltimore City.³²⁹ He married, in 1812, Amelia Apsby, and died May 7, 1857, aged 65. His only child and heir, Frances A. Tittle, married William Robert Monroe, a native of Prince George's County, Maryland, M. D., Washington University, 1849; Presbyter of the Methodist Episcopal Church, etc., who died in Baltimore, February 13, 1894.³³⁰ Dr. Monroe was remembered by Mr. J. Paul Baker.

Either Mr. Tittle or his son-in-law, Dr. Monroe, changed the name of Kensington farm to Villa Monta, a pretty name, but smacking (or so it seems to us) of the premature suburban. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876*, Plate S, shows Villa Monta farm in detail. Dr. Monroe's residence stood a little east of the mill dam of Paradise mill. The farm is bounded on the east by Charles Street Avenue. On the north it is separated from Cold Spring Lane by the lands of Edward McConkey and Company and a Mrs. Kimberly. The greater part of Villa Monta lies west of Stony Run and is divided up by the usual gridiron of imaginary (?) streets. A little stream, or "spring branch," which rises in a hollow, still visible, at Charles Street Avenue and Bedford Place, is shown descending into the mill race, and there is a small pond on it.

SCOTT'S MILL, MOUNT PLEASANT

On March 6, 1794, Charles Carroll of Carrollton conveyed to Rossiter Scott, of Baltimore County, "miller," a tract of land containing 15½ acres, the same being a part of two tracts of land, the one called "Mount Pleasant" (*q. v.*), the other, "Adjunction."³³¹ A few years later a merchant mill is known

³²⁹ Baltimore City Directory, 1829.

³³⁰ These data are mostly to be confirmed by cards in the Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society, and Cordell's Medical Annals of Maryland.

³³¹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. M. M., f. 576. "Adjunction," 25 acres, was surveyed for Joseph Ensor, October 4, 1769. (L. O. M., Patented Certificate No. 282, Baltimore County.) It is described as having been taken up on a warrant for 60 acres of vacant land adjoining "Ridgely's Whim" and

to have been standing on this property. Who built it is still a question, and there remains a doubt if it was built by Mr. Scott.

The site of Scott's Mill is not exactly known to this author. We do not even know on which side of Stony Run the mill stood. But if we should run a line from the centre of the President's House, on the Johns Hopkins University campus, due west to Stony Run in Wyman Park, we should cross the lower end of the mill lot, and I venture to guess that the site of the mill is not far above the spot where this line will intersect the run.³²²

The following description of the improvements at Scott's Mill on Stony Run will be found in A Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, *c.* 1799-1800, to which reference has already frequently been made in this article.

15 acres, Rossiter Scott, owner; John Harker, occupant. Land called Junker [sic. intended for "Adjunction"] and Mount Pleasant with a breast mill the house of stone 2 stories 36 by 25 a millers House adjoin^g say in the same building 24 by 12. A temporary wood stable those buildings very ordinary & in a state of ruin. The mill not half a sufficiency of water for 1 pair of stones.

Mention of insufficiency of water, which we noted in the case of Paradise Mill, seems all the more striking in the present case, when we take into consideration the fact that between the two mills the flow of water in Stony Run was increased by that of the Guilford stream, which, next to the Homeland branch, is the largest affluent of Stony Run. The fact that Scott's Mill was found to be in a ruinous condition in 1799-1800 raises a serious doubt whether Rossiter Scott built this mill, which, if true, was then almost new. Be this as it may, the author does not believe that Scott's Mill and the mill built by Fell and Ensor about 1739 were identical. Surveys and plats do not bear this out.

Joseph Merryman's land, "beginning at a stump of a red oak standing on a Run called the Great Run shewed to me [the surveyor] to be the Beginning of Merryman's Addition & also the Beginning of Merryman's Lott."

³²² I am making use of a plat, reference to which has already been made, namely Joseph Ensor's plat of part of "Merryman's Lott," "Adjunction," "Mount Pleasant," and other lands, shown in relation to Stony Run, 1770.

On December 27, 1815, Rossiter Scott had his mill lot on Stony Run resurveyed, with the addition of between one and two acres of vacant land, and called his resurvey "Scott's Mill."³³³ On January 6 of the following year he took up an adjoining tract of vacant land, containing something short of two acres, which he called "Harrow Tooth."³³⁴ His mill lot then contained about twenty acres.

Rossiter Scott died May 2nd, 1830, at the age of sixty-four. In his will, dated April 17, 1830, he left to his sons, Townsend Scott, Thomas Scott and Rossiter Scott, Jr., his country place, situated on the York Road, "as also my merchant mill with the land thereunto belonging with other improvements thereon."³³⁵ In the inventory of his estate various articles "at the mill" are listed.³³⁶

On September 16, 1840, Robert Purviance, Jr., Trustee under a decree of Baltimore County Court, dated 7 January, 1836, in the case of Townsend Scott *et al.* versus Enoch Pearce, Charles Crook, *et al.*, conveyed to James McCormick lands and premises composed of "Scott's Mill," 18 acres, 3 rods and 20 perches, and "Harrow Tooth," one acre, 3 rods and 38 perches, both of them surveyed for and patented to Rossiter Scott.³³⁷ On August 29, 1843, these same lands were leased by John P. McCormick and wife to Henry G. Mankin, on a 99-year basis.³³⁸ In this way Mr. Mankin came into possession of Scott's Mill and the lands thereunto belonging. Mr. Mankin already owned a considerable tract of land lying adjacent to the mill lot, composed of parts of "Mount Pleasant," "Addition to Mount Pleasant," "Seed Ticks Plenty," "The Quarry" and "Addition." On February 15, 1839, John McCormick, of Washing-

³³³ L. O. M., Maryland Patented Certificate No. 4351, Baltimore County.

³³⁴ L. O. M., Maryland Patented Certificate No. 2224, Baltimore County.

³³⁵ Wills, Baltimore County, Md., Liber 13, f. 409. Mr. Scott's residence is shown on Package Plats No. 130, Baltimore Court House. It stood on the east side of the York Road, above the eastern end of Cold Spring Lane, on a tract of 62½ acres, which Mr. Scott purchased in 1802 of Henry Messonier. (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 73, f. 233). His heirs sold 54 acres of this country seat to William Williams, in 1847. (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. W. B. 382, f. 521). It was called Willow Farm. *Rossiter* Street keeps alive the memory of the Scott family in that neighborhood. It crosses the York Road between Notre Dame Lane and Cold Spring Lane.

³³⁶ Inventories, Baltimore County, Liber 38, f. 510.

³³⁷ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 302, f. 473.

³³⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 333, f. 233.

ton, D. C., gave bond to convey to him two tracts of land, containing, respectively, $111\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and 3 acres and 90 perches. The purchase price was to be \$23,000.00, of which \$11,500.00 was paid in cash and the rest secured by promissory notes, which in due course were paid off.³³⁹ In 1849 he added to this estate by the purchase, from Eleanor Merryman and others, of 62 acres, 3 rods and 34 perches of land, made up of parts of "Merryman's Addition" and "Mount Pleasant," and bounded on the south and east by "Scott's Mill."³⁴⁰ In 1850 he purchased of Thomas Ellicott and others a tract of land, containing 152 acres, composed of parts of "Mount Pleasant," "Seed Ticks Plenty" and "Ridgely's Whim," bounded in part by the Falls Road and the land of James Bay.³⁴¹ In all, he bought about 350 acres, a considerable farm and estate for a semi-suburban neighborhood. This country estate he called "Mount Pleasant," after the name of the tract of patented land of which it was, in large part, composed. A beautiful plat of "Mount Pleasant," "the Country Residence of Henry Mankin, Esq.," made by William Dawson, surveyor, in the year 1849, is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. It shows the mansion house of Mr. Mankin, situated east of the Falls Road, with an entrance on that highway; also extensive gardens, formally laid out, adjoining the mansion. Woodlands, orchards, pastures, "clover fields" and "cultivated lands" are all shown in detail, where today lies Hampden, and Wyman Park, which last is still wooded. Stony Run is called Union or Ensor's Run on this map. "Homewood," the property of S. Wyman, Esq., is shown in part. Red Lane (not named) is shown from Sumwalt Run (not named) to Merryman's Lane (called "public road"). The Mount Pleasant estate is bounded on the north by Merryman's Lane and on the south and south-east by the "Union Mill Property," of which presently. On Stony Run there are indicated two large ponds, styled "lakes," close together. At the foot of the first "lake" is a large building, and a short distance away, to the south west, there is another. I believe these were buildings which had belonged to Scott's mill;

³³⁹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 286, f. 325. See also W. G. No. 168, f. 631: Tyson to McCormick, 16 August, 1823.

³⁴⁰ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 423, f. 402.

³⁴¹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 444, f. 282.

perhaps one of them was the mill, itself; but I can not prove the point. A short distance below the second pond or lake, and east of Stony Run, four more buildings are indicated. It is my opinion that several of these buildings may have been used as ice-houses. Scott's Mill-lot includes them all, as well as the two ponds. The Maryland Historical Society is the owner of an original map of Hampden, as laid out in roads and avenues by J. Morris Wampler, "engineer and architect," in the year 1857, for the Hampden Improvement Association, and including, so far as I am able to judge, the whole of the Mount Pleasant farm. On it is shown Hampden Village, the former Kellysville,³⁴² a place of only five houses, situated on the Falls Turnpike Road a short distance below its junction with Cold Spring Lane. Also shown on this map, and named, are: Merryman's Lane [West of Stony Run (so named) it is called "Sixth Avenue"; it is now called Fortieth Street]; a section of Evans Chapel Road, from its junction with Merryman's Lane to the north side of Cold Spring Lane; and Red Lane, called "Mankin's Road," which crosses Stony Run at the head of the second pond. The two ponds are called "ice ponds." On either side of Mankin's Road, at the foot of the upper pond, are two buildings. A cluster of buildings, six in all, stands eastward of the foot of the second pond, divided by Mankin's Road. About 275 feet below the southern end of the second pond a small stream, coming down from Homeland, enters Stony Run. This stream is the "spring branch" which flows down the hollow lying north, or behind, the Hopkins Club, on the Johns Hopkins University Campus. The stream which watered the Dulin place (*q. v.*) flows into the upper pond. Mr. Mankin's residence, as shown on this plat, is situated between Elm Avenue and Chestnut Avenue, with an entrance on the former. It stands between Third Avenue (now Thirty-Sixth Street) and Second Avenue, Hampden. On Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876*, Plate X (this was the year Mr. Mankin died) we find the residence of "H. Mankin—Mount

³⁴² On J. C. Sidney's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore, 1850*, we find "Kellysville" in this same situation, but no Hampden. In Kellysville is a store kept by Dennis Kelly, an Irishman, who was one of the heroes of the War of 1812. His brother, Martin Kelly, is called a "pioneer" of Hampden and vicinity. (See Dielman Biographical Index, Md. Hist. Society, for an account of the life of Dennis Kelly and other information about the family.)

Pleasant" bounded by Elm Avenue, Third Avenue, Chestnut Avenue and Second Avenue. I estimate this lot to have contained between three and a half and four acres. The two ponds on Stony Run are gone.

Henry Gardner Mankin (1804-1876) was the son of Isaiah Mankin, a prominent Baltimore shipping merchant, who was a native of Charles County, Maryland. An interesting account of his life will be found in the Dielman Biographical Index (File), Maryland Historical Society Library. In 1857 he formed the Hampden Association, whose purpose it was to lay out and "develop" his farm, "Mount Pleasant." These plans were frustrated by the advent of the Civil War, but were carried out later. However, even by 1876, not many houses seem to have been built.⁸⁴³ Mr. Mankin's sister, Nancy Gardner Mankin, married Francis Haynes Jencks (1813-1889), founder of the well-known Baltimore family of that name.⁸⁴⁴

UNION MILL

Union Mill stood upon the north-west bank of Stony Run, a little more than a hundred feet north-east of the Falls Road.⁸⁴⁵ It stood only a short distance up-stream from Jones's Falls. Stony Run is covered over at the place where the old mill stood, and the natural landscape thereabouts has been obliterated. The name of Union Run, in my opinion, is most probably derived from "The Union," *i. e.*, the United States; if so, it can not date from a time previous to the American Revolu-

⁸⁴³ Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore and its Environs, 1876*, Plate X.

⁸⁴⁴ It is my understanding that Mr. Jencks purchased lands on the northern side of "Mount Pleasant" with the idea of building a country house thereon, but later abandoned this plan. It had been his desire to settle close to his brother-in-law.

⁸⁴⁵ Package Plats, No. 234, Court House, Baltimore, Md.: James Bay versus William Scott, plea of trespass. November term, 1851. Filed Nov. 12, 1851. This plat shows part of "Mount Royal"; Jones' Falls; the Falls Turnpike Road; Ensor's Run; the old mill on the north western side of Ensor's Run [Union Mill]; the bridge over Ensor's Run; and the old Bannel house on the northern side of the run. In his report the surveyor calls the run both Ensor's Run and Union Run. The distance between the Falls Road and the old mill is six perches. The plat shows the lines of a deed, 2 August, 1840, from Andrew Hall and others to William Scott and James Scott, beginning at the place where the North 30 degrees west 184 perches line of that part of Mount Royal condemned for Mount Royal Forge intersected the northwest side of Ensor's Run.

tion. From it, in all probability, Stony Run derived one of the five names by which it has been known in the course of two and a half centuries: Union Run. The Union Bank of Baltimore played a part in the history of the mill, but as to the name, this is coincidental. I can not say who built Union Mill, but I believe that it was erected by a Rutter.

Union Mill was built on a part of "Mount Royal" which was cut off from Jones's Falls when the Baltimore Company condemned a section of that tract of land for the use of a forge.³⁴⁶ On December 18, 1798, Thomas Rutter, Jr., John Rutter and Elizabeth Hanson Rutter conveyed to Philip Rogers of Baltimore County, a part of Mount Royal, situated on the north west side of Ensor's Run "and the mill thereon, being with full liberty for him the said Philip Rogers, his heirs, at all times hereafter to butt, build and erect a dam at any place across the said Run of such height as he the said Philip Rogers his heirs and assigns shall or may think proper or find necessary for the use of the said Mill."³⁴⁷

Philip Rogers was associated with Nicholas Owings in the ownership of Union Mill, as well as in that of White Hall Mill, which was situated on Jones's Falls, above the mouth of Stony Run, on the land called "Seed Ticks Plenty."³⁴⁸

Baltimore County assessors, who visited Union Mill c. 1799-1800 and recorded what they found there, did not think that a sufficient, dependable supply of water was available for the use of the mill, a low opinion which as, we have seen, they meted out to Paradise Mill and to Scott's Mill. The following is their report:³⁴⁹

Rogers & Owings. Joseph Scott occupant. Union Mill now sold to Joseph Scott.³⁵⁰ The land but ordinary. The Mill House a rough stone building 2 stories 40 by 30, an old kiln for drying flour to

³⁴⁶ The Mount Royal Forge, sometimes called Franklin's Forges. See this author's article on the Mount Royal Forge and Mount Royal Mill in *Md. Hist. Magazine*, Vol. LIV, p. 16 *et seq.*

³⁴⁷ Baltimore County Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 57, f. 287.

³⁴⁸ Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, Baltimore County, c. 1799-1800.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* In the *Federal Gazette* of May 2, 1800, William Nicoll, millwright, advertises for millwrights and carpenters who are wanted at Union Mills (sic).

³⁵⁰ This statement about the mill's being sold to Scott was, apparently, premature. I find no confirmation of it in the Baltimore County Land Records.

be pulled down the Mill on a weak stream running but one pair of stones. the dwelling common Log. 1 sto. House 30 by 18. Kitchen 16 by 12.

In the *American*, Baltimore, April 8, 1805, Messrs. Van Wyck and Dorsey, auctioneers, offer for sale Union Mill, with forty acres of land. Quite naturally, they take a more optimistic view of the property: Improvements in the meanwhile had no doubt been made, but the poor supply of water remained the same:

The mill is in complete order, and is capable of manufacturing upwards of 2500 bushells of grain annually. It has two pairs of bur stones, three sets of cloths [sic] and all of Evans's latest improvements. It is situated within $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of Baltimore, and on the borders of Jones's Falls. The arable land is very fertile and healthy, and commands a beautiful prospect. The other part is well timbered and contains a number of valuable and inexhaustible stone quarries.

Union Mill had divers owners, besides those already mentioned. On March 26, 1802, Philip Rogers conveyed his part of "Mount Royal," together with the mill thereon erected, to Bernard Gilpin, of Montgomery County, Md.,³⁵¹ who, on February 10, 1807, made it over to Benjamin Ellicott, of Baltimore City, merchant, a member of a very well known Quaker family, owners of mills³⁵² and capitalists.³⁵³ Benjamin Ellicott, in his will, dated December 19, 1837,³⁵⁴ bequeathed to John Ellicott, of Elias, and to Andrew Ellicott all that estate called "the Union Mill property," comprehending part of "Mount Royal" (number of acres not named) and parts of "The Addition." John and Andrew Ellicott mortgaged the Union mill

³⁵¹ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 70, f. 58. Included in this deed are quarries. Later the same year he mortgaged to Mr. Rogers two parts of "Addition," containing 54 acres and 85 perches, respectively, and part of "Mount Royal." (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 73, f. 311). On July 19, 1802, he mortgaged to the Bank of Baltimore all that part of "Mount Royal" "which is situated on the North West side of Ensor's Run and the Mill thereon erected"; also his part of "Addition." (Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 74, f. 293.)

³⁵² Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber W. G. No. 92, f. 480. Also conveyed were parts of "Addition," 54 acres and 85 perches, less two small lots sold to Thomas Hollingsworth and Isaac Tyson, respectively. The purchase price was \$6,000.00.

³⁵³ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 319, f. 403.

³⁵⁴ This will is cited in a deed from Ellicott to Ellicott, 1839 (see below).

property to the Union Bank of Maryland, Baltimore, May 27, 1839.³⁵⁵ John Ellicott, of Elias, conveyed his undivided interest in the mill property, consisting of part of "Mount Royal," and parts of "The Addition," these last containing 54 acres and 85 square perches, to Evan T. Ellicott and Andrew Ellicott, February 1, 1841.³⁵⁶ The President and Directors of the Union Bank of Maryland made over "The Union Mill Property," the same devised by Benjamin Ellicott to Messrs. John and Andrew Ellicott, to James Bay, May 10, 1842.³⁵⁷ In this deed Stony Run is called Union Run or Ensor's Run. Mr. Bay, who was interested in quarries, died March 31, 1863, in his sixty-ninth year. J. C. Sidney's *Map of Baltimore City and County*, 1850, shows a building belonging to "J. Bay" on the north-western side of Stony Run (not named), in the angle formed by the run and the Falls Road. A deed from Edward Green, Trustee, to David P. Shoemaker, July 20, 1849, for part of "Mount Royal," begins for the land conveyed "at a granite stone heretofore planted on the east side of the road leading from the east side of Jones Falls to the Old Union Mill."³⁵⁸ It is my opinion that Union Mill fell into disuse about the middle of the nineteenth century, or not long afterwards.

THE END

³⁵⁵ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 289, f. 305.

³⁵⁶ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 305, f. 323.

³⁵⁷ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber T. K. No. 319, f. 403.

³⁵⁸ Balto. Co. Land Records, Liber A. W. B. No. 444, f. 323.

SIDELIGHTS

EXEUNT, ROARING

— *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*

By TENCH FRANCIS TILGHMAN

The recent article in *The Maryland Historical Magazine* on Henry Winter Davis¹ with its comments on his somewhat difficult personality has suggested that a note on his father, the Rev. Henry Lyon Davis, who, for a brief but hectic period, held the office of Principal of St. John's College, might not be amiss. For though the adage "like father, like son" may not always be valid, a glance at the tempest that the father created during his short tenure of office suggests that the Davises were not an easy family to live with.

The clergyman who was destined to provide the Board of Visitors and Governors of the college with so much unexpected excitement was a Marylander from Cecil County, where he was born about 1775.² He came to Annapolis late in 1815 as Rector of St. Anne's Church, and was elected Vice-Principal of the College on March 15, 1816,³ during a very disturbed period in that institution's history. Space does not permit of a detailed account of this crisis; suffice it to say that the Legislature had, in 1805, withdrawn all state funds from both Washington and St. John's Colleges, thus causing the latter to pass through a strange twilight era in which shadowy figures groped in an ever-deepening fog of futility, as expedient after expedient was tried in a vain effort to ward off collapse. But even the desperate and pathetic remedy, in 1812, of hiring an auctioneer to sell the college silver and furniture and even the fence surrounding the Green, failed; and from January 1 to late September of 1818 the college was closed.

Rising, however, phoenix-like from its ashes, the college awoke to a new life with new hopes. On June 28, 1820, Davis was elected

¹ Raymond W. Tyson, "Henry Winter Davis: Orator for the Union," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, LVIII (March, 1963).

² Rev. Ethan Allen, *Historical Notes of St. Anne's Parish* (Baltimore, 1857), p. 106 ff. and *Clergy in Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church* (Baltimore, 1860), p. 27.

³ Unless otherwise noted, all information is drawn from the Minutes of the Board of Visitors and Governors of St. John's, ms., St. John's College, Annapolis.

Principal. With the new leadership came a new curriculum and new fees: tuition was now \$40 a year, and board, "at one of the most respectable boarding houses in the city," was \$120. There was to be "no unmannerly behavior, gaming, quarreling, fighting, or any tyranny exercised by the stronger over the weaker boys." "Annapolis," the Board of Visitors proudly declared, "offers no opportunity for secret dissipation"—a statement doubtless soothing to the parents but perhaps discouraging to prospective students. St. John's was again to "resume its ancient reputation and dignity."

On May 24, 1821, there appeared in the *Maryland Gazette* what must have seemed, to any who read it, an innocuous communication:

ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE

The Principal gives notice that he is about to institute Public Examinations which will be held on the first Saturday of each month. The Trustees of the Seminary and the Fathers and Guardians of the students are hereby invited to attend. The business will always commence at 9 o'clock.

Anxious to obtain the most effective help and the most respectable testimony, the Principal particularly solicits the attendance and assistance of all Graduates of this or of other colleges, who may reside within a convenient distance. It is not contemplated that any persons, except known scholars and such as have academic honors, should be requested to take an active part in the examinations.

This harmless statement, presumably only a routine notice, was loaded with dynamite, as the unhappy Dr. Davis was to discover within twenty-four hours. For the very next day the Board met in extraordinary session, with most of its members in a blue fury. The turmoil all centered around the method of giving the examinations, and to understand the cause we must step back a generation to the very early days of the college. The charter of St. John's had decreed that degrees could be granted only to those students who had been publicly examined; and in 1794, according to the *Gazette's* account of the Commencement held on November 17 of that year, Alexander Contee Magruder could not graduate because sickness had prevented him from fulfilling this requirement. In 1791 the Board had made an official pronouncement, stressing its belief in public examinations because they "excite emulation in the breasts of the students." In actual practice the examinations seem to have been held in the presence of and conducted by a committee of the Board; the genuinely public part of the exercises

were the orations delivered by members of the graduating class and, indeed, by many of the undergraduates.

What, then, was so infuriating to the local worthies in this notice, sent so innocently to the *Gazette* by Dr. Davis? The answer is that they saw themselves being invited, in the public press, to a ceremony that they had been in the habit of arranging and conducting. Furthermore, they most certainly did not relish Dr. Davis' remarks about wanting the "most effective help" and the "most respectable testimony" nor his final statement that only "known scholars" would be invited to participate. His elegant language reflected cruelly on their own scholarship, and, as they said, might even undermine the parents' faith in the Board of Visitors and Governors of St. John's College. It simply would not do.

The Board demanded two things of the Principal: that he send them a written apology for his actions, and that he publicly restrict his announcement; and to make sure that they got results, they grimly voted to meet again that day at five o'clock. When, that evening, Dr. Davis' note was handed in, it proved to be neither apologetic nor conciliatory:

Sir,

When I sent my notice to the Printer I certainly did not dream of violating any one established rule of the College; nor do I yet believe that I have been guilty of any violation. But as the Trustees interpose their veto, my plans from which I expected much good, must necessarily be laid aside. Next week I will give public notice of my disappointment and the causes of it.

Yours respectfully,

H. L. Davis

Nothing less likely than this to smooth the Board's ruffled feelings can be imagined; the Principal was submitting only to superior force. Immediately a resolution to deprive him of his office was introduced, but a moderate group of members succeeded in having it postponed until June 8. In the meanwhile, the Principal was preparing his notice for the press. It appeared in due course, in the *Gazette* of May 31:

The Principal gives notice that the *Public* examinations, by which he had hoped to make known, *throughout the state*, the genuine character of this Seminary, and to promote the interests of literature and science, have been *prohibited* by the paramount authority of the Trustees.

The tone of this letter was even stronger than that of the note to the Board, and now the battle began in earnest. The Board met on June 8, madder than ever because of this communication; but the moderate party was still strong enough to prevent any very drastic action. The resolution to deprive Davis of his office was defeated 8 to 5. Much, however, that does not appear in the minutes must have been going on behind the scenes, for, at the next meeting, on July 19, a new attack was launched; a resolution was introduced to take away Davis' principalship and to demote him to the rank of Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. But his supporters held their lines, and the motion was postponed.

All through the summer the battle raged, and by autumn the tide had begun to turn. On September 22 the Board met again, still fighting. Davis' friends made the plea in his behalf that the resolution directed against him had been introduced at a meeting not sanctioned by the charter; that it contained no charges; that he had been given no notice of it, and that he had had no opportunity to defend himself. But, during the brain-curdling heat of an Annapolis summer, enmity against the Principal must have been mounting, for his friends were voted down, and the resolution of July 19 was passed 12 to 10. The Rev. Henry L. Davis ceased to be Principal and became Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

It is hard enough for contemporaries to judge the rights and wrongs of quarrels such as this one; after the lapse of nearly a century and a half, judgment is almost impossible. A great deal must have been said and done, of which no trace remains. The Board can hardly be blamed for taking umbrage at the off-hand fashion in which the Principal had changed what was, if not a regulation, certainly a long-established custom at St. John's and one in which the Board took great pride. Dr. Davis emerges from the controversy as a very stubborn man, who, when his back was up, appears to have gone out of his way to antagonize the Trustees; the soft answer that turneth away wrath did not come naturally to his lips. But there are certain elements in his favor, not the least of which is that, until the very end, he still had friends on the Board who stood by him, and there is evidence that a number of students left the college along with him. And his position must have been a very difficult one. At this period the Board was composed exclusively of Annapolitans, a situation which meant that the members could exercise a day-by-day surveillance of college affairs which would hardly lead to tranquility. From

the very beginning, the Board had made a practice of controlling the most trivial details of college administration, to such an extent, indeed, that one wonders why they even bothered to elect a Principal since there was almost nothing that he could do on his own responsibility. The title of Principal of St. John's College sounded quite impressive, but the man who held it found, all too often, that, like the traditional policeman, his lot was not a happy one.

But if the Board thought that by demoting Dr. Davis they had disposed of him, they sadly underestimated the resources of that bellicose clergyman. His head might be bloody, but it was distinctly unbowed, and he had just begun to fight. When the Board next met, on October 13, its president, William H. Marriott, announced, in what must have been tones of horror, that he had been visited by the Sheriff, and that Dr. Davis had brought suit against the Board of Visitors and Governors of St. John's College. The counter-offensive had begun.

Then ensued what was unquestionably the most dramatic meeting of the Board in its thirty-five years of existence. Dr. Davis, now merely a professor, and Dr. Rafferty, the Vice-Principal, were ordered to attend, and testimony was taken at great length. In spite of *de mortuis nihil nisi bonum*, one would like to know what was going through the Rev. Mr. Rafferty's mind as he testified that the ex-Principal had violated the order of the Board of March 10 last. This regulation was a very complicated affair, dealing with the question of in what order the various classes should recite each day and to which room each should first report, a matter, one would think, that could easily be settled among the teachers concerned. But the members of the Board were out for Dr. Davis' scalp, and one pretext served as well as another. Nor can one think very highly of Dr. Rafferty, when one sees how eagerly he offered his testimony. But Davis stuck to his guns. He refused to recognize the authority of the Trustees to remove him from his post as Principal and announced that he would continue to act in that capacity. Twice, resolutions requesting him to leave the room were offered and adopted; but Dr. Davis calmly declined to depart. He remained to the bitter end, insisting all the while that he was ex officio a member of the Board. On what grounds he based this claim, he never deigned to say. Finally the meeting ended, with the former Principal relieved of all duties at the college by a vote of 10 to 6.

So until the last, Dr. Davis still had some friends. Of course, he remained Rector of St. Anne's, a position he held until 1825.⁴

⁴ Walter B. Norris, *Illustrated History and Guide Book to St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis* (Annapolis, 1935), p. 9.

And he had yet other strings to his bow. On November 15, 1821, the *Gazette* carried a notice that: "Dr. Davis informs the Public that he has opened a Private School in which will be taught the Latin and Greek Languages, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. He has engaged Mr. Frederick L. Grammar as an assistant. The price of tuition is fixed at forty dollars per annum; and quarterly payments will be expected, but not in advance. Board (washing, lodging, and fuel included) may be had for \$150." Dr. Davis' wife had Annapolis connections⁵—which may explain why he always had some friends on the Board—and we may hope that his school prospered. And that he was popular with at least some of the students at St. John's is shown by the fact that the Board felt it necessary, when he was dismissed, to pass a special resolution forbidding students to recite to him. Evidently he had a following, for there is a reference, in the minutes of a later Board meeting, to the students who had left the college when he did. Other things besides students left with him: in November Rafferty was assigned the embarrassing task of recovering from the ex-Principal the college telescope. Somehow, the picture of Dr. Davis indignantly stalking from the campus, with the telescope under his arm and a group of loyal students in his wake, is a quaint one.

It is regrettable that the papers bearing on his suit against the college could not be located; they would make lively reading. The suit dragged on for years; it was not until 1824 that Thomas B. Dorsey was paid for defending the college. As for Dr. Davis, he finally left Annapolis and, after holding several positions, wound up as head of a college at Wilmington, with what success we do not know. He died in 1836.⁶

⁵ *D. A. B.*, V, 119. Article on Henry Winter Davis. This article, by mistaking the date of Davis' ejection from St. John's, assigns an incorrect cause to the quarrel between him and the Board.

⁶ Allen, *Clergy in Maryland of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 34.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Face of Virginia. By A. AUBREY BODINE. Baltimore, Bodine Associates, 1963. 176. \$15.

The Face of Virginia by Aubrey Bodine makes clear that the time has long passed when he can be regarded only as an expert photographer. Instead he has become one who, with his camera and his intuitive understanding, skillfully probes into the full life of the people of the area he has under study. This development is manifest in his latest book, a pictorial study of our neighboring state on the south. Here is Virginia history from the *Susan Constant*, *Godspeed*, and *Discovery* at Jamestown to the National Aeronautics and Space Administration at Wallops Island. Here is Virginia's scenic beauty from limpid Tidewater to the sharp granite of the Alleghenies. Here are Virginians at work—building great ships at Newport News, fishing the waters of the Chesapeake, raising apples in the Shenandoah, catering to tourists at Williamsburg and Virginia Beach, and in various areas of their state raising large shares of the nation's cotton, peanuts, potatoes and tobacco. Here are Virginians felling timber and mining coal.

Included, too, are sites commemorating the Civil War, and the homes of the presidents associated with Virginia. Above all, Bodine treats generously the state's magnificent landscape, its colleges, museums and public buildings. In short, the 335 photographs in the book strikingly portray the treasures of the past of a great state as well as the daily life of its modern citizens. Many of the photographs have won awards. Many others deserve such notice.

To complement Bodine's photography, Virginius Dabney, distinguished editor of the Richmond *Times Dispatch*, has contributed "The Face Is To the Future," an easily read but penetrating essay on life and thought in the state today. And for the book Richard Q. Yardley, the Baltimore *Sunpapers'* nationally-known cartoonist, has produced an end-paper map of the state which one can pick up at any time and chuckle over for minutes on end.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE

Baltimore, Md.

This Was Chesapeake Bay. By ROBERT H. BURGESS. Cambridge, Md.: Cornell Maritime Press, Inc., 1963. xi, 210. \$10.

Seldom can one pick up a book which is full of nostalgic interest to those who love the Chesapeake Bay, and find in it the life story of a dedicated man who for 40 years has been fortunate enough to combine his hobby with his life's work.

Robert Burgess, Baltimorean; Curator of Exhibits, Mariners Museum, Newport News; amateur photographer; and practical sailor has contributed articles regularly to the *Sunday Sun Magazine*, the *Newport News Daily Press*, the *Norfolk Virginian-Pilot*, the *Chesapeake Skipper* and *The Commonwealth*, a publication of the Virginia Chamber of Commerce. This book is a collection of these stories with a few additions.

His articles are always of interest, often on subjects long forgotten or stories of vessels, people, fishing methods, etc., which in the busy press of daily life we have missed. This is a collection of stories gathered over the years about this ever-changing scene.

This book is a 69-course meal of all one could ask; there are 12 articles on the history and geology of the Bay and its environs; there are six articles on people, plus five on shipyards, sailmakers, carvers, and the like. There are two on lighthouses and lightships and 21 on steamboats covering the life span of the Bay and river lines. There are 16 on sail and sailing vessels, and last, but not least, seven articles on types of sailing vessels in the Bay: the schooner, bugeye, skipjack, ram, pungy, log canoe and Yankee skiff. Here in one package is the answer to our Bay types, complete with pictures of these varieties, both live and dead—and written with a very personal touch.

This reviewer's only criticism is the fact that the author has scrambled the articles in no particular order or grouping, and it is believed that the book would be stronger if better arranged.

Perhaps no one can write a book covering the pictorial history of boating on the Bay without stirring up criticism from some sources. We believe that this book is a very valuable contribution to knowledge of the Bay and its vessels, and will long be welcomed and remembered by those of us who have been privileged to see the changing scene of the past 60 years. To the younger element who are racing and cruising on the Bay today, it will make fascinating reading. We recommend it as a "must" library addition to all Marylanders and Virginians.

RICHARD H. RANDALL

Baltimore, Md.

William Fitzhugh And His Chesapeake World 1676-1701. Edited with an introduction by RICHARD BEALE DAVIS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963. Published for the Virginia Historical Society. xvi, 399. \$7.50.

The letters of William Fitzhugh—planter, lawyer, and politician—are perhaps the largest and most valuable collection of personal papers of the Virginia gentry during the last decades of the seventeenth century. Though most of them were published in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* over a half century ago, editorial standards did not meet those of the present day. They were neither accurately transcribed nor fully annotated. The present volume, edited by Richard Beale Davis and also containing several of Fitzhugh's speeches in the House of Burgesses, his will, and a useful introduction will, therefore, be welcomed by those who are interested in the history of the Chesapeake area during the colonial period.

The letters are especially interesting for the insight they provide into the values and mode of life of the Chesapeake gentry. Though he lived neither "in poverty nor pomp . . . and to full content," Fitzhugh was often lonely at his plantation where good friends were few, "and seldom come at except in books." His letters indicated too, not only what books he owned, but how he used them in his legal practice, and probably raised the level of learning and legal knowledge in the House of Burgesses during his long career as a representative from Stafford County. A "busy, practical man," he was usually preoccupied with worldly affairs and anxious to make a profit in the uncertain tobacco market. Like most other planters of his generations, he neither drained the swamps nor fertilized his fields, but cleared new land as the old land lost its fertility. Indeed, the acquisition of land was one of Fitzhugh's central concerns, and both he and his law partner, George Brent, granted large tracts to themselves and their friends when they were agents for the Proprietors of the Northern Neck, and purchased still more from individuals.

In general, Professor Davis has rendered a valuable service in providing an excellent, unmodernized edition of an important seventeenth century source. However, exception must be taken to his arguments that there were political "parties" in Stafford County where, for many years, the Masons and Martin Scarlet opposed Fitzhugh and George Brent, and that voting in the House of Burgesses was "along party lines, or something approaching it." To be

sure, Fitzhugh himself used the designation "whiggish Party," but "whiggish" in the seventeenth and eighteenth century—like the terms liberal and conservative today—generally denoted a cast of mind rather than affiliations with a formal political group. Moreover, party itself was an unsavory word, indicating not an overt organization but a covert coalition for the pursuit of selfish ends.

CHURCHILL E. WARD

Western Reserve University

The Stonewall Brigade. By JAMES I. ROBERTSON, JR. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1963. xii, 271. \$6.

This is the first modern treatment of "the only large unit in the Confederate Army to have a sanctioned nickname" (p. 193). If more doctoral dissertations blossomed into such a flowering, professors of history would have less occasion to stand abashed before some of their academic progeny. In addition to the wealth of printed and manuscript material on the War Between the States that has come to light in recent years Dr. Robertson—until recently executive director of the U. S. Civil War Centennial Commission—has employed personal scouting in Valley of Virginia homes and enlisted the aid of regional newspapers to unearth new data. The result emerges as probably the amplest examination that will be required of a notable fighting unit, which is to say, here is a significant piece of social history.

In piecing together this terrible tapestry of tribulation the author has taken full advantage of his built-in bonus: the impetus given his narrative by the swinging succession of movement and of battles. The story moves well. There are photographs of all seven Brigade commanders, plus selected other officers, and nine scenic views. Each Brigade chief is allotted a useful brief biography. On pages 15-16 is an interesting tabulation of the rank-and-file's civilian occupations. The appendix offers a breakdown of the Brigade by companies.

The only outstanding deficiency is an absence of maps. This reviewer's other criticisms are minor. Throughout the text it is difficult to learn which year we are in (though the footnotes, at the bottom of the page, often carry the date). In the "Biographical Works" listed on pages 258-59 the author might at least have cited Frank Cunningham's *Knight of the Confederacy: General Turner Ashby* (San Antonio, 1960), and it is surprising to find no men-

tion of Lenoir Chambers' *Stonewall Jackson* (1959, two vols.). The personality of "Old Jack" does not emerge clearly. Annotation on the spy, John Y. Beall (p. 16, n. 10), would have profited by substituting for the magazine cited the very full anonymous *Memoirs* . . . (Montreal, 1865) by Daniel Bedinger Lucas.

On the whole Dr. Robertson has turned in, like his subject of a century ago, a superior performance.

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

Baltimore, Md.

The Southern Frontier. By JOHN ANTHONY CARUSO. New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc., 1963. 448. \$6.50.

With the publication of this book Professor Caruso of the University of West Virginia has now completed three of six studies in a series entitled, *The American Frontier*. The two earlier finished volumes are *The Appalachian Frontier* and *The Great Lakes Frontier*. In each of the three volumes in print, including the present work, there is a certain vivid and homespun exuberance that makes for good story telling and reader interest. It is this characteristic no doubt that has prompted favorable comment on the part of some reviewers in the past, and perhaps will again.

Whatever the merits of the first two works in this series, there are, in regard to *The Southern Frontier*, some defects which seriously detract from its possible claim of being a solid piece of historical writing. For one thing, the author launches abruptly into what he refers to as his "narrative history"—nearly 400 pages in length—without making any effort to acquaint the reader with either the scope or the purposes of the work. In fact, it is on page 431 (and then in a brief section of "acknowledgments") that this "frontier" is finally described as the region of "Florida, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana." What this book needs, and does not have, is an appropriate introductory statement, carefully setting out the intentions of the author, the nature of this "frontier" and possibly its relationship to other "frontiers" of his series, and, generally, the plan of the work.

Even more disturbing still is the lack in the "narrative" itself of the kind of organization which effectively connects related materials. What the reader encounters instead is a welter of more or less separate episodes or "tableaux." These range all the way from accounts in the 1500's and 1600's of the earliest Spanish, French,

and English explorers and colonists to events and incidents of the late 18th and early 19th centuries along the Mississippi, like the affairs of Burr, Blennerhassett, and Wilkinson, and finally to statehood for Florida in 1845. If there is actual connection and historical cause and effect in the bewildering array of details presented here, the reader is forced to try to find it "on his own."

In conclusion, it is necessary to point also to the inadequacies of the author's "sources." It is clear that he has relied largely upon secondary rather than primary materials, and that is perhaps understandable in a work of this type. Even in the use of secondary materials, however, he has omitted references extremely valuable for his purposes; and the careful student will wonder why.

VERNE E. CHATELAIN

University of Maryland

The Papers of John C. Calhoun: Volume II, 1817-1818. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press for the South Caroliniana Society, 1963. xciv, 513. \$10.00.

The first volume of Calhoun Papers, published in 1959, covered a span of seventeen years. Volume II covers only eight months. The difference stems from the fact that in December, 1817, Calhoun took over the office and duties of Secretary of War in Monroe's cabinet and became enmeshed in the avalanche of paperwork which characterized Washington bureaus then, as it does now.

The secretaryship posed problems for the editor. With so much correspondence and documentation flowing in and out of the department, much of it, nominally at least, addressed to Secretary Calhoun, where was one to draw the line as to what constituted a Calhoun Paper? In keeping with the generally comprehensive nature of current manuscript publication projects, editor W. Edwin Hemphill decided to be inclusive, yet keep things within reasonable physical bounds by summarizing much of the correspondence. Although Hemphill argues that a comprehensiveness emerges from the consecutive presentation of the details of War Department administration, no amount of careful and well-disposed reading can alter the conclusion that much of this material would never have been disinterred on its own merits. We can only be thankful that four-fifths of this routine business has been severely abridged by the editor. With the exception of the research scholar seeking

information on the Department, or Indian policy, or the Florida campaign, there is little here for even the professional casual reader. (A happy exception is the excellent introduction which gives the background and setting for Calhoun's cabinet tenure.)

There are few letters of any substance written by Calhoun, and of these the most important have already been published by Jameson, or in the older *American State Papers*. Although it was during this eight month period that General Jackson took Pensacola from the Spaniards, and precipitated a crisis in the Monroe cabinet which greatly affected Calhoun's later career, these papers contain nothing significantly new on the matter.

Chronology, available documents, and previously established editorial policy all dictated the makeup of this volume, and its disappointing yield for 500 pages. If the remaining cabinet years materials points to similar volumes, perhaps a revision of editorial criteria is in order.

FRANK OTTO GATELL

University of Maryland

Black Utopias: Negro Communal Experiments in America. By WILLIAM H. PEASE and JANE PEASE. Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963. ix, 204. \$4.

During the thirty years preceding the Civil War a sprinkling of organized Negro communities dotted the landscape in America and nearby western Ontario. Their founders were diverse, including a Utopian socialist like Frances Wright of Nashoba fame, a humanitarian like William King, founder of the Elgin settlement in Ontario, and a Negro evangelist like Isaac Rice, who worked along the Detroit-Windsor frontier. However varied their founders, these communities had much in common. Self-contained and self-governing, they aimed to help the Negro stand on his own feet, thereby proving to whites that colored people were not undesirable as neighbors. But these experiments, with one exception, were short-lived failures. Good leadership was generally lacking, as in the case of the Dawn community where ex-slave Josiah Henson proved to be an incompetent businessman, however well-intentioned as to purpose. In other instances failure resulted in part from competition for high office within the group, or because of the opposition of the whites in the vicinity. Moreover, the movement was criticized by some Negroes as smacking of self-segregation.

Except for the Negro community experiments at Port Royal

during the Civil War, the documentary sources on this subject are not easily come by. But the Peases have widely sampled the manuscript and archival materials in the United States and Canada, and have succeeded admirably in piecing together a rounded narrative. The major conclusion they reach—that the founders of these settlements were people whose vision was unrealistic—would win general agreement, although it is to be noted that the all-Negro community movement experienced a rebirth during the 1880's in the Southwest. This thoughtful, worthwhile study by the Peases might have been made a bit more useful by the inclusion of a map showing the location of the various settlements.

BENJAMIN QUARLES

Morgan State College

Saints and Sectaries: Anne Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. By EMERY BATTIS. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press (published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia), 1962. xv, 379. \$7.50.

Anne Hutchinson's name is an American synonym for individual rights. It was this strong-minded housewife who stood up against the frighteningly powerful Puritan autocracy and told them what she believed, stood for, and would do. Mr. Battis in this careful and scholarly study not only describes her famous trial and relates its circumstances, but with the collaboration of Dr. Paul A. Yonge attempts to discover her motivations.

Such medical possibilities, as historians increasingly explore them, are often fascinating. Did Amy Robsart really die because walking downstairs brought too much stress and strain to a cancerous spine? Was Queen Victoria's hysterical personality the consequence of goitre, as her pop eyes and intolerance of heat might indicate? Was Mother Ann Lee another Mad Hatter—was it religious fervor that made her and the other Shaking Quakers shake and sing and fall down in fits, or was it the familiar mercuric poisoning from the hatter's trade? Was it, Mr. Battis's readers are asked to wonder with him, Anne Hutchinson's menopausal symptoms that caused "the delusional system which Mrs. Hutchinson may hitherto have entertained inwardly . . . [to be] forced into open expression?"

The answer must, obviously, remain a surmise. But, anyway, would it make her less of an American heroine? Surely not. Anne Hutchinson interpreted sermons and expounded scriptures in sin-

cerity and faith, no matter what emotional and/or physical factors were in the background. She had the courage—whatever gave her that courage—to stand up for her right to believe what she believed. When she was then denounced as “a Hethen and a Publican” and ordered “out of this Church as a Leper,” she went with dignity and assurance: “Better to be cast out of the Church than to deny Christ,” she said. And she continued to expound “her vaguely mystical doctrines,” as Mr. Battis calls them, in the new community she moved to. Her monstrous birth, following so soon and, many thought, so significantly on Mary Dyer’s, never deterred her from her confident thinking or her desire to impart her beliefs. Emotionally hers was a violent life, and finally she met a violent death—tomahawked, with several of her children, by the Indians.

“So,” Mr. Battis says, “Anne Hutchinson’s tortuous path came to an end, but where she had been, there remained signs of her passing.”

ELLEN HART SMITH

Owensboro, Kentucky

The Negro in the American Revolution. By BENJAMIN QUARLES.
Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961. Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Va. xiii, 223. bib. \$6.

This book fills a vacuum in our knowledge of the American Revolution. Like the white the Negro could be found on both sides of the struggle, responding to whichever offered freedom. To quote from Dr. Quarles’ opening lines: “In the Revolutionary War the American Negro was a participant and a symbol. He was active on the battlefronts and behind the lines; in his expectations and in the gains he registered during the war, he personified the goal of that freedom in whose name the struggle was waged. The Negro’s role in the Revolution can best be understood by realizing that his major loyalty was not to a place nor to a people, but to a principle. Insofar as he had freedom of choice, he was likely to join the side that made him the quickest and best offer in terms of those ‘unalienable rights’ of which Mr. Jefferson had spoken. Whoever invoked the image of liberty, be he American or British, could count on a ready response from the blacks.”

Slaves performed yeoman service as artisans and as laborers in building fortifications; some won their freedom by their heroism in battle. The free Negro fought in several battles of

the Revolution. For example, a large part of the Rhode Island contingent was composed of Negro troops and the forces from the New England states, containing many black soldiers, made it an "integrated" army. The South was fearful—indeed resentful—of proposals to enlist slaves, even though the proposition came from the section's delegates in Congress—Col. John Laurens of South Carolina, for example.

Perhaps more important than these activities was the "hard look" the nation took at the institution of slavery at the close of the war. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts abolished slavery; societies were formed with this as a goal, and religious groups discouraged the keeping of slaves, principally the Quakers and Methodists.

The South struggled with its conscience. Many individuals advocated plans for freeing the slaves, however futilely. More persons quietly manumitted their slaves in their last wills and testaments. The southern states temporarily, except Georgia, closed the slave trade during and after the war (South Carolina in 1787. See p. 195), but quickly reopened the traffic with the advent of the new staple, cotton.

The federalist period was to witness a reaction to the movement and the post-war period saw disappointment to the Negro's hopes for freedom generally. However, "ultimately, the colored people of America benefited from the irreversible commitment of the new nation to the principal of liberty and equality."

RICHARD WALSH, *Ed.*

Georgetown University

The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1963.

Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. ix, 318. \$7.50.

Historians of political parties tend to concentrate on the drama of the national conventions and presidential campaigns. Such an election year focus, although perhaps inevitable, is unfortunate for it almost completely overlooks the continuing life of the party and the unflagging concern of party regulars with such practical questions as how a party is built, how it is sustained in defeat and maintained in victory. It is to such problems that Noble Cunningham, Jr., Associate Professor of History at the University of Richmond,

has addressed himself, previously in *The Jeffersonian Republicans: The Formation of Party Organizations, 1789-1801*, and now in *The Jeffersonian Republicans in Power: Party Operations, 1801-1809*.

The subtitle is the key to the content of this study. It is not a broad political narrative of Jefferson's administration and there is little attempt to consider the delineation and execution of Republican policy in states or nation after the victory of 1800. Rather, it is a close investigation of party machinery at the local, state, and national level, of problems of patronage and party unity, of the relationship between the party and the President, the press, and the voter. Significantly, Professor Cunningham's work has been based to a large extent upon a careful reading of original sources, demonstrating the degree to which new material and new interpretations may be gained from a focused approach to essentially well known and well used material.

The hero of the book is Thomas Jefferson. According to the author, Jefferson may not completely have understood or approved of the party system of his time, but he knew how to deal with it brilliantly. After some initial hesitation he developed a patronage policy that was frankly partisan in purpose but did not allow the wholesale removal of Federalists from public office. He tried, unsuccessfully for the most part, to develop an effective working relationship with party leadership in Congress and kept in touch with Republican leaders and the Republican press throughout the country. Holding himself aloof from the many sectional and factional splits that plagued the Republicans, he managed to keep his national support and in his own person as well as by his own efforts held the party together until he handed the presidency to Madison.

Jefferson led his party with expertise, patience and diligence; this the author clearly proves, leaving the reader with fresh admiration for Jefferson's talents and fresh despair for the amount of the president's time that had to be devoted to the minutiae of party life and personnel. It seems unfortunate that the rigor with which Professor Cunningham's subject is limited has led him to omit detailed discussion of two subjects which while perhaps peripheral to party organization are fundamental to the larger purposes for which the organization exists: first, the degree to which Jefferson found difficulties in reconciling his dual role as chief executive and party leader and second, the way in which Jefferson as president instituted what were clearly in part partisan attacks on the Federalist judiciary.

The party that Jefferson led emerges from these pages a complex but tangible organization. Much of party machinery that later

became accepted, like the congressional presidential nominating caucus, was still in the process of development. The state parties ranged from the highly organized and efficient Republicans of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania to the vigorous New England Republicans engaged in extending party organization through a Federalist stronghold, to the Southern and Western Republicans operating with little or no formal party machinery. This analysis of the state parties and their differences is one of the most valuable sections of Professor Cunningham's work. It cuts through the usual meaningless generalizations about Jefferson's support to show the variety of specific circumstances that determined the strength of party organization at the crucial local level. The material on Maryland and particularly on the Jeffersonian bastion of Baltimore, is limited but suggestive and, it is hoped, may lead to further research not only on Republican organization in Maryland but on the colorful men who headed that organization.

RHODA M. DORSEY

Goucher College

NOTES AND QUERIES

Maryland Historical Magazine on microfilm—Microfilm copies of current and back issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* are now available to meet the problem of periodical storage and to assist younger libraries in building their collections. For further information write: University Microfilms, Inc., 313 N. First St., Ann Arbor, Mich. 48107.

Parker Genealogical Contest Awards—Winning entries in the annual Dudrea and Sumner Parker Genealogical Contest for 1963 were: "The Chappellear Family" by Nancy Chappellear, Washington, D. C.; "Blackburn to Baltimore: A Marsden Family Genealogy" by Charles A. Earp, Baltimore; and "Some Records of the Stewarts of Ashbourne and Hambrooke Point, Dorchester County, Maryland" by Robert G. Stewart, Washington, D. C.

The judges were: Mr. Robert W. Barnes, an officer of the Maryland Genealogical Society, and Mr. John D. Kilbourne of the Maryland Historical Society.

Established in 1946 by Mrs. Sumner A. Parker to promote the preparation of family records and their deposit in the Society's library, the contest is open to all. Entries for 1964 should be received by December 31st.

Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage—The following historical landmarks of Baltimore city will be visited Monday, May 4, 1964:

1. Washington Monument, where bus tickets will be sold for shuttle bus service.
2. Apartment of Dr. and Mrs. Gardner, 704 Cathedral Street.
3. Wrenn, Lewis & Jencks offices, 113 West Mulberry Street.
4. Rectory, St. Paul's Episcopal Church.
5. Mother Seton House, 600 North Paca Street.
6. St. Mary's Seminary Chapel.
7. Manse, First Presbyterian Church, Madison Street near Park Avenue.

8. Zion Lutheran Church, City Hall Plaza. (Lunch served here.)
 9. The Peale Museum.
 10. Carroll Mansion (Caton-Carroll House) Lombard and Front Streets.
 11. Lloyd Street Synagogue, Lloyd and Watson Streets.
 12. The Flag House, Pratt and Albemarle Streets.
 13. The U. S. S. *Constellation*, Pier 4, Pratt Street.
 14. The Otterbein Church, Conway Street near Sharp.
 15. 413 East Warren Avenue, on Federal Hill.
 16. Baltimore City Hall, where Mayor and Mrs. McKeldin will serve tea to ticketholders in the Mayor's office.
-

Methodist Historical Society—A piece of oak from the first Methodist meeting house built in America is being given to the Wesley College, Dover, Delaware, for a mace to be used in academic processions. The wood, from Strawbridge's Log Meeting House in Carroll County, Maryland, has been owned since 1855 by the Methodist Historical Society whose directors this week voted to donate it on plea of Dr. Robert H. Parker, president of Wesley College. The Log Meeting House, forerunner of the 39,000 Methodist churches now in America, was erected 200 years ago in 1764. Superseded in 1783 by Stone Chapel, still in use, its site is marked by an inscribed monument erected in 1914 and enlarged in 1934. Its location on Maryland Route 407 is marked.

Old Otterbein Church—Old Otterbein's annual Pilgrimage is scheduled for May 3rd, 3 P.M. The speaker will be Dr. Joe Willard Kreyer, Editor of the denominational paper, *Church and Home*. The musical attraction will be selections by the Tall Cedars Chanters of Baltimore. The church's antiques will be on exhibition.

Members of Old Otterbein Church—I am trying to find descendants of the first roster of members of the Old Otterbein Church. In the Maryland Historical Society's archives I have placed some documents, including the 56 names in English of those who were members in our first list, 1785. There is no record of who belonged to

the church in 1771. Anybody claiming descent from this early membership might contact me at the address below.

PAUL E. HOLDCRAFT

3605 Howard Park Ave., Baltimore Md. 21207

Johns Hopkins University Public Lectures—The general subject is "Science as a Cultural Force" and the title of the series, "The Shell Companies Foundation Lectures on Science, Technology and Society." The place is Shriver Hall, the Johns Hopkins University, Homewood Campus, 34th & Charles Sts., Baltimore 18, Maryland. The lectures: April 26th at 4:00 p.m., James R. Killian, "Science and Government"; May 3rd at 4:00 p.m., Jerome Wiesner, "Technology and Society"; May 10th at 4:00 p.m., Michael Polanyi, "Science and Philosophy"; May 17th at 4:00 p.m., Gerald Holton, "Science and the Humanities."

Georgetown University—The First Washington Area History Conference will be held at Georgetown University on April 11, 1964 under the joint sponsorship of the American Historical Association and Georgetown University. Representatives of the numerous high schools, colleges, and universities of the seven Metropolitan Area school districts will participate. It is the purpose of the meeting to bring together history and social science teachers from all levels of education for mutual exploration of their interests and objectives. The program includes the following panel discussions:

- "Teaching Communism in the High School."
- "Reconstruction and Its Twentieth Century Aftermath."
- "The Cuban Revolt."
- "Spengler, Toynbee and Other Great Generalizers."
- "World History: Can It Be Taught?"
- "The American Character."
- "High School and College Teaching."
- "Twentieth Century European History."

Academia of 127 S. Poplar Street, Fairfax, Va., is arranging a publishers' book exhibit. Publishers may contact them at that address.

National Trust for Historic Preservation—Twelve fellowships and openings for six non-fellows to attend a Seminar for Historical Administrators June 14-July 24 in Williamsburg, Va., will be available, according to William J. Murtagh, director of the department of education of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. The course for graduate students interested in administrative careers in museums and historical agencies is co-sponsored by the National Trust, Colonial Williamsburg, The American Association for State and Local History and the American Association of Museums. The fellowships will carry a stipend of \$450 for qualified graduate students with one year of graduate training in American history, American studies, American art and architectural history, and allied fields.

Bicentennial of Medical Education—The University of Pennsylvania plans a 1965 celebration of the Bicentennial of Medical Education in the United States. The observance will mark the 200th anniversary of the founding of the University's School of Medicine, the first medical school established in this country. The announcement was made by President Gaylord P. Harnwell, following action taken by the Trustees at their fall meeting on the campus.

Pennsylvania Life and Culture—The Eighth Annual Institute of Pennsylvania Life and Culture will be held June 23-26, 1964 at the Pennsylvania Farm Museum at Landis Valley. This year's seminar topics are:

- Women's Work on the Pennsylvania Farm, 1800-1850;
- Early Railroading in Pennsylvania;
- Preservation and Minor Restoration of Paintings and Documents;
- The American Indian, an Archaeological Study;
- Authenticating Pennsylvania Antiques;
- Problems and Techniques of Historical Restoration.

The registration fee for the meeting, including two dinners and three lunches is \$25. For further information address: Mr. Irwin Richman, Chairman, Institute of Pennsylvania Life and Culture, State Museum Building, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

CONTRIBUTORS

ROSAMOND RANDALL BEIRNE is co-author of *The Hammond-Harwood House and Its Owners* and *William Buckland, 1744-1774, Architect of Virginia and Maryland*, and a frequent contributor to the *Magazine*. She is Regent of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association and a member of the Society's Council. With Mr. Beirne she is working on a biography of Samuel Chase.

NANCY C. PEARRE is a geologist with the United States Geological Survey in Washington, D. C. From 1952 to 1958 she conducted a part-time study of former mineral-producing areas in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and she has published several reports on her findings. Miss Pearre is a native of Frederick, Maryland, and a graduate of Bryn Mawr College. She is now Mrs. Frank G. Lesure.

COLONEL HOWARD V. CANAN, U. S. A. (Ret.), following graduation from the U. S. Military Academy, was assigned to the Army Corps of Engineers. He subsequently graduated from the Command and General Staff College and the Naval War College. In addition to his service as an engineer officer, he was assigned on Military Intelligence duty with the G-2 Division of the War Department General Staff. After his retirement from the Army in 1954, Colonel Canan made an extensive study of military intelligence in the Civil War and has had several articles published on various phases of Civil War military intelligence.

TENCH FRANCIS TILGHMAN is a former member of the faculty of St. John's College. At present he is Professor in the Department of English, Virginia Polytechnic Institute. He has contributed several articles on the history of St. John's to the *Magazine*.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Annual Report for 1963

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

EARLY in the year it became known that under the will of the late Jacob France, former vice-president of the Society and chairman of its Committee on Finance, the Society will ultimately receive the sum of \$250,000 for the establishment of a Jacob and Annita France Room for the exhibition of articles or records related to the history of Maryland.

Throughout the year our Society has been moving ahead steadily with its plans for the Thomas and Hugg Memorial addition to our headquarters. Buildings on the site to the west of the Keyser Memorial were razed, and architectural drawings and specifications are near completion. In planning for the new building the advice and assistance of Mr. Abbott L. Penniman, Jr., Chairman of our Building Committee, has been invaluable.

The new building when completed will more than double our present space facilities and will enable us to operate much more effectively. It will also give us opportunities to enlarge greatly the scope of our activities along lines of endeavor which we have long sought to undertake.

During the year your President continued to serve as Chairman of the Maryland Civil War Centennial Commission. In March and September he visited the Maryland Society of Pennsylvania and on the latter occasion he spoke at Valley Forge at the dedication of a marker commemorating the Revolutionary War service of Marylanders at that place. In November, serving as a representative of the Governor of Maryland, he spoke at ceremonies in Philadelphia incidental to the bicentennial of the survey of the Mason-Dixon Line.

Also during the year your President, acting under a resolution of the Council, appointed a Committee for the Revision of the Constitution. Mr. H. H. Walker Lewis served as chairman and the other members were: Mrs. Rosamond Beirne, Mr. Samuel Hopkins, Mr. Porter Hopkins, Mr. Harold Manakee and the President *ex officio*. The Committee has completed a revision which it is believed will bring the constitution more in line with existing prac-

tice and give it greater flexibility. It will be submitted to the membership at the 1964 annual meeting.

We are very grateful for your helpful encouragement and your hearty cooperation.

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, *President*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

Much time and planning during 1963 went into discussions with the Building Committee and with Meyer and Ayers, architects for the proposed Thomas and Hugg Memorial addition to the headquarters of the Society. Nevertheless attention was given to making members and the public more familiar with the various collections of the Society. Exhibitions have featured the Society's treasures rather than loan items. The period rooms in the Pratt Mansion remain lighted during opening hours, and small framed cards at the doors summarize the important facts about the exhibits in the rooms. Mannequins display costumes, periodically changed, in the double parlor and elsewhere. The use of explanatory labels has been increased. A photographic inventory of items displayed in corridors and exhibition rooms has been completed, and a microfilm copy of the accession records of the gallery and museum has been made and deposited in the Society's safe deposit box. A similar record of library accessions is being compiled.

With a view toward facilitating the occupation and operation of the Thomas and Hugg Building, staff responsibilities and procedures have been set forth in a tentative manual which, undoubtedly, will see many changes before becoming final in any degree. Frequent staff meetings have been inaugurated, and only the press of other matters has prevented them from being held at regular intervals.

Talks were given to a wide variety of groups and a welcome increase in academic interest was evidenced by requests to speak to such groups as the entire history student body of Montgomery Junior College; Phi Alpha Theta, the history honor society at Georgetown University; and to Delta Epsilon Sigma, a similar group at the College of Notre Dame. Lectures at, and tours of, the Society were given for the Enrichment Committee of the Maryland Council of Churches; the Lancaster County (Pennsylvania) Historical Society; the Maryland history class of Montgomery Junior College; and several miscellaneous groups. The historical societies of Baltimore, Caroline, Carroll, Kent and Somerset coun-

ties were visited, usually for the invited purpose of giving a talk. Cooperation varying from lending materials, to participating in a panel discussion, to performing extensive research or writing was offered upon request to the Office of The Adjutant General; to the Department of Economic Development, Tourist Division; to the Jewish Historical Society; to the Baltimore *News-Post*; to the city and state departments of education; and to the Committee for the Restoration of Mother Seton's House in Baltimore. Several radio or television talks were given at WCAO, WBAL and WJZ.

The Society was pleased to offer its limited facilities for meetings to the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland for its annual Emily McKim Reed Lecture; to the Society of the Cincinnati in Maryland for its annual meeting on February 22nd; to the Woman's Eastern Shore Society and to the Society of the *Ark* and the *Dove* for monthly gatherings; to the Windjammers, a group of Chesapeake Bay enthusiasts; to the Descendants of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; and to the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities for its annual joint meeting with the Maryland Historical Society. Several of these meetings were held at times when the Society is usually closed and required special openings.

Many hours went into helping to prepare for the publication of the book, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, by J. Reaney Kelly, published during the year, and of *The War of 1812 in the Chesapeake Bay* by Gilbert Byron, to be available in 1964. Prior to a new printing of *Guardian of Our Heritage*, a promotional booklet renamed *The Treasure House of Maryland*, its text was brought up to date, and a new promotional leaflet, *The Maryland Historical Society, Past, Present and Future*, was prepared. All of this work points up the need, mentioned in the previous annual report, for the establishment of a Publications Department. It is strongly felt that, after a few years, such a department could be made to support itself.

For the purpose of studying maritime exhibits, a visit was made to the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts; and to examine modern storage equipment and methods another trip was made to the recently built warehouse at Colonial Williamsburg. In activities related to, but not allied with, those of the Society a second semester course in Maryland history was taught for Towson State College. In addition, your Director served on the executive board of the Edgar Allan Poe Society and as a member of the State Department of Education Coordinating Curriculum Committee. The

year's attendance at the Society totaled 21,215, of whom 6,899 were school children.

Throughout the year I have been fortunate in receiving full cooperation from the officers and committee members of the Society. Needless to say, I value their trust. The generous, cheerful and wise advice of Mr. Abbott L. Penniman, Jr., Chairman of the Building Committee, has been invaluable. For the staff, I cannot say too much. Though I am grateful to each of them, I feel compelled to single out those in the administrative area—Miss Martha Bokel, Business Manager and Membership Secretary; Mrs. Lucille Bulin, Bookkeeper; and Miss Alice Kriete, Administrative Assistant, because their contributions are not covered by the report of any committee. The many compliments the Society receives as to its cleanliness and good order are due to the unstinting application of Mrs. Catherine A. Lau, Housekeeper, Miss Enolliah Brown, Maid and Messrs. James Jones and Summerfield Baldwin, Porters.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE, *Director*

REPORT OF TRUSTEES OF THE ATHENAEUM

No major repairs to the Keyser Memorial Building were necessary in 1963. In the way of maintenance, a number of window ropes were replaced, and a worn out gas hot water heater was replaced with a relatively new one from the house formerly at 221 West Monument Street.

In the way of improvements, matching chandeliers from 221 West Monument were placed in the room housing the Redwood Collection and in the room containing the Patterson-Bonaparte Collection. Hanging lamps on the landings between the first and second and between the second and third floors of the Pratt Mansion were electrified for better illumination of the stairway during night tours of the building. A number of cabinets were salvaged from the razed buildings on Monument Street and installed in various storage areas.

Through the interest and kindness of Mrs. William S. Hilles, wrought iron hand-rails were placed at the steps between the Library and the Main Gallery.

LUCIUS R. WHITE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE GALLERY

Staff personnel in the Gallery and Museum remained unchanged during 1963—Miss Eugenia Calvert Holland, Assistant Curator, and Mrs. Virginia Moore Swarm, Registrar.

The year saw 106 donors present 544 items to the gallery and museum. The more outstanding accessions were a bequest from Miss Lucy Winchester Williams and Miss Elizabeth Hawkins Williams of a number of empire dining and living room pieces, and a tall mahogany case clock, *ca.* 1800, Hepplewhite, by George Woltz of Hagerstown from the estate of Mrs. DeCourcy Wright Thom.

In addition, as the gift of Mrs. John C. Clemson of San Mateo, California, the Society received six family portraits and a large painting of the Castle of Chapultepec at the time of its occupation by the United States Army in 1847. A bequest of Mrs. Mary Rebecca Mullan Flather of Washington, D. C., was a portrait of David Williamson, Sr. (1753-1831) and of David Williamson, Jr. (1787-1839), of Baltimore County. Through the generosity of Mr. S. Kirk Millsbaugh came a number of display cases from Samuel Kirk and Son, Inc., for possible use in the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. Another pleasing gift was a painting by John Da Costa of the children of the late Waldo Necomer. The donor was Mrs. Morris Keene Barroll of Chestertown.

During the year the Society lent 293 items to other museums, to the United States Post Office, to the Baltimore school system television and radio department, to the Johns Hopkins Hospital Child Life Program, to several advertising companies and to other organizations and individuals. Substantial loans went to the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey; to the Washington County Museum of Fine Arts, Hagerstown; the Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia; the North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, North Carolina; the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware; the Baltimore Museum of Art; and Mt. Clare Mansion. Other users of the collection for various purposes were the *Sunday Sun Magazine* and *Woman's Day* magazine for its *Woman's Day Book of American Needlework*. Promotional exhibits were mounted at the Homemaker Show at the Fifth Regiment Armory and at the opening of the Civic Center. Also at the Civic Center, in an exhibition devoted to home furnishings, tribute was rendered to Miss Holland for her work as Assistant Curator.

The Society's records include a number of loans made on a long-term basis to other organizations and individuals to augment their

holdings. Among these are: The Peale Museum; The Flag House Association; Mt. Clare Mansion; One West Mt. Vernon Place; the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Museum; Peabody Institute; the Maryland Academy of Sciences; the Mother Seton House; Mr. H. Irvine Keyser; and Miss Otilie Sutro, all of Baltimore. Other groups include: Historic Annapolis, and the State House, Annapolis; Hampton Historic Site and the Baltimore County Board of Education, Towson; Washington College, Chestertown; "Smallwood's Retreat," Charles County; and the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C. Loans have also been made to the historical societies of Carroll, Somerset and Talbot counties.

Exhibitions held during 1963 were:

- 1) Second showing of architects' model and drawings for the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building.
- 2) Revolutionary War Letters and Prints. From the collections of Mr. J. William Middendorf, Jr. and Mr. J. William Middendorf, II.
- 3) Nineteenth Century Tools from the Society's Collection.
- 4) Maryland Earthenware from the Society's Collection.
- 5) Portable Desks of Prominent Marylanders. From the private collection of Mr. Samson Feldman and Miss Sadie Feldman.
- 6) Letters, Restoration Plans and Photographs Pertaining to the Mother Seton House on Paca Street.
- 7) Baltimore Rowing Clubs. Photographs, trophies and pennants.
- 8) Bethlehem Steel's Role in the State of Maryland and the Port of Baltimore.
- 9) Playthings of Great-Grandma's Day.

Despite the lack of a substantial budget allocation for restoration, much progress was made in this area through the interest and generosity of friends. The six paintings in the Clemson Collection were restored by Mrs. Elizabeth F. Carroll as a gift of the donor, Mrs. John G. Clemson; a Rembrandt Peale portrait of a unknown gentleman was repaired through the kindness of Mrs. Michael A. Abrams; and the portrait of Daniel Carroll by John Wollaston was restored as a memorial to the late Director, James W. Foster, by means of a gift from the Women's Committee.

The outstanding accomplishment in this area was the restoration of the full-length portrait of Governor William Paca, one of the four signers of the Declaration of Independence from Maryland, by Charles Willson Peale. The work was done by Miss Elisabeth

Packard and Mr. Peter Michaels of the Walters Art Gallery through the generosity of Mr. John P. Paca, 5th.

In a continuing program a number of furniture pieces were cleaned and repaired through the kind offer of J. W. Berry and Son, cabinetmakers, who volunteered to do the work at cost. Finally, Mrs. Swarm has developed a happy facility in cleaning and touching up gilt frames which has added to the appearance of a number of paintings.

Many friends render such active assistance to the Gallery and Museum that they must be publicly acknowledged and thanked: Mrs. John C. Stokes, Mrs. Swepson Earle, Miss Pechin Ingle, Mr. Harry Berry, and Mr. Richard Randall.

During the year the resources of the Gallery and Museum were used by many scholars, with the *J. Hall Pleasants Studies in Maryland Painting*, especially, continuing to be an invaluable reference tool. Technical assistance has also been given with Mrs. Swarm advising several other organizations with museum holdings as to the formulation of accession and catalog systems and records. These include: The Medical and Chirurgical Faculty Library; the Hall of Fame for Lacrosse, Johns Hopkins University; the Mother Seton House in Baltimore; and the historical societies of Baltimore, Somerset and Talbot counties.

During the year Miss Holland spoke to the Baltimore City Homemakers Club and to the Pickersgill Home. Mrs. Swarm spoke twice to Chapter F of PEO, a philanthropic educational organization, and to the Presbyterian Home for the Aged, Towson. In her capacity as one of the Society's two staff members charged with liaison duties Miss Holland worked closely with the Maryland House and Garden Pilgrimage; the National Society of Colonial Dames of America in the State of Maryland; and the Committee for the Restoration of Mother Seton's House in Baltimore. She also represented the Society at the opening of an exhibition titled "Classical America, 1815-1845" at the Newark Museum, and studied costume storage facilities at the Brooklyn Museum.

JOHN H. SCARFF, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY

During 1963 there were no changes in the regular staff of the Library. Persons employed were: John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director—Library and Archives; Miss A. Hester Rich, Assistant Librarian; Mr. Thomas S. Eader, Assistant Librarian; Miss Elizabeth Merritt, Indexer; and Mrs. Forrest W. Lord, Secretary. The staff of manuscript restorers also remained the same. These capable ladies are Miss Louisa M. Gary and Miss Esther N. Taylor. Miss Merritt retired as Indexer August 15, 1963, and the position remained vacant for the rest of the year. As has been customary in the past, the Society, through an annual grant, employed for the summer months deserving college students in an effort to encourage their natural interests in history. In 1963 these were Thomas Lombardi; Jon H. Livezey; Dale C. Carr; and Stephen Feigin. Our feeling is that such employment and exposure to the atmosphere of a historical society will reflect favorably on a student's approach to historical studies. During their employment, these students materially relieved regular staff members of numerous routine duties.

In addition, the Society, through its cooperation in a "Historical Studies Laboratory" with Goucher College, profited from the valuable help of a number of students in this course. Their assistance lightened the work of the staff in the reading room on Saturday mornings.

Much of the routine work in the Library is carried on through the interested help of faithful volunteers. Their work is most noticeable in up-dating the Dielman Biographical File. During the year these volunteers included the Misses Mary C. Hiss, Eliza Funk, Jessie Slee, Florence Kelly, and Nancy Ridout, and Mesdames G. W. Cauthorn and E. H. Pond. Mrs. Kenneth R. Bourne does many miscellaneous and useful typing projects. Miss Edith Thompson, who had been a faithful volunteer worker for several years, died soon after the close of the year. Mrs. William Bevan has continued to be of assistance to the Library in furnishing clippings for the invaluable file which she maintained for many years, and in making us the beneficiary of some special studies which she undertakes from time to time. Mrs. Ernest A. Rich throughout most of the year faithfully clipped pertinent items from the *Morning, Evening, and Sunday Sun*. Since the end of 1963, this work has been done by Miss Elizabeth Merritt.

Miss Madeleine H. Wells, Receptionist, has continued the prepa-

ration of index cards for the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and the Dielman Biographical File.

Miss Selma Grether, docent, has performed the valuable additional service of maintaining our clipping file, which work has included mounting and captioning the many clippings that accumulate from day to day.

Miss Betty Adler has continued in her preparation of the Consolidated Index to the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. The Annual Indexes are prepared by Mr. Frank F. White, Jr., of the Hall of Records.

During the year 3,579 persons visited the Library, a greater number than in any preceding year. Of those who signed the visitors' register, 718 indicated that they were members of the Society (in 1962, 608 members signed, and in 1961, 534). In contrast to previous years the busiest months were January and March. Fewer people used the Library in September and December.

As is always the case, much of the work of the staff is of the nature of behind-the-scenes activities all directed toward making the use of the Library more satisfactory and effortless on the part of our patrons. During the year over 300 photograph, photostat, or microfilm orders were filled. With the dependable assistance of Mr. Lombardi, our collections of unbound reports, pamphlets, and house organs were boxed or wrapped, and filed in their proper places on the shelves. Most of these materials had received no attention during the last ten years.

Miss Rich cataloged 1,262 volumes (of 1,007 titles). All of these were lettered with call numbers by Mr. Eader. This cataloging included all current acquisitions and some heretofore uncatalogued materials. It also completed the cataloging of all of our family history books. The picture collection was enlarged by nearly 3,000 items, almost a thousand of which were glass negatives; all of these had to be filed separately with protective corrugated boards between each plate of glass, and Mr. Eader was able to provide for them cross-reference cards in the main photograph file. An oversize section was added to this file for large pictures and negatives, and these also were cross referenced. A consolidation was made in the filing of our 35 mm. color transparencies.

During the year 339 volumes were prepared for rebinding, checked, and reshelved when they were returned.

All manuscript materials received during the year required accessioning, arranging, boxing, and shelving. In addition to her routine duties, Mrs. Lord, under the direction of the Librarian, accessioned

the materials received. Fortunately, the assistance of our summer employees, previously named, permitted an almost up-to-date description and shelving of these materials.

During the year, 767 "lots" of material were accessioned. Each individual acquisition, however, normally includes more than one item. Of these accessions a number represent delayed entries, as an inventory had indicated that many items previously in our possession had never been accessioned.

Our important accessions have already been reported in *Maryland History Notes*. These now mentioned are only a reiteration of the more important materials received:

Letters and other family papers of the Cock and Coleman families of Frederick County were presented by three descendants of these families. Primarily from the immediate family of Chester Coleman, the letters tell of his concern with agriculture and the education of his children. Some of the letters from the partisan years of the Civil War give an insight into local feeling on that subject.

By purchase we acquired a broadside of 1825, containing the commercial regulations established by the Baltimore Chamber of Commerce in regard to port fees, cost of freight and similar matters.

A large collection of letters and other papers of the James Harwood, James Kemp, and John Glenn families was presented by a descendant. Many of the letters in the collection relate to the affairs of the Episcopal Church in Maryland.

Another gift to the Society was a letter book of the George's Creek Coal and Iron Company, Allegany County (1839-1847).

By purchase we acquired *A Circular Letter to the Clergy of Mary-Land, Subsequent to the Late Visitation* [n. p., 1700], and *A Letter From Dr. Bray to Such as have Contributed Towards the Propagating of Christian Knowledge in the Plantation*, [1700]. These two items supplement our prior collection relating to The Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray (1656-1730), Commissary of the Bishop of London for the Anglican Church in Maryland and other colonies.

A gift of five diaries of Susanna Warfield, covering the period 1845-1885, has supplied fascinating, if largely domestic, information about Howard County during the period mentioned.

An anonymous gift made us possessors of a heretofore undescribed pamphlet of 44 pages. The pamphlet contains the rules of and the names of the subscribers to *The Washington Tontine* and is assigned to the year 1805. Many of the subscribers were Marylanders, and the copy has been annotated by a previous owner with the ages of many of the survivors.

A gift from another library gave us ten volumes of various newspapers from Towson, not all of which had previously been represented in our collection. The papers themselves date from 1905 to 1917.

Another interesting gift was a manuscript volume containing notations relating to shipping and port charges in France and other countries about 1816-17. This volume has been attributed to the Didier interests of Baltimore, as a number of the ships named therein belonged to the Didier family.

By exchange we acquired numerous broadsides relating primarily to various retailers in Baltimore during the last half of the 19th century. Also included in the collection were memorials to the General Assembly and certain political items.

We purchased a manuscript volume containing the Rules, Regulations, and Minutes of the Friendship Fire Company of Baltimore (1798-1822). Some of the materials acquired through the same purchase include: The Rule Book

of the Independent Fire Company (1845-1847), and the Dues Record Book for the Independent Fire Company (1822-1827). There was also a group of broadsides containing the membership of the Friendship Fire Company (1818, 1822, 1858); the Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Association (1886); the Lafayette Engine Company (1858); the Patapsco Fire Company (1855); and the Independent Fire Company (1848).

By another purchase we acquired 32 letters, mostly from the Woodville family of Baltimore to their cousins, the Butler family of County Kilkenny, Ireland. All were descended from the Caton family, and the letters relate mostly to financial enterprises of varied sorts, including Maryland copper mining and railroads.

A number of books of a maritime nature have also been added to our Library, most of them gifts from interested members of the Maritime Committee.

Our microfilm collection was enlarged by the purchase of the following: Seven rolls of microfilm containing the files of the *Frederick-Town Herald* from 1802 to 1835; the *Baltimore Price Current and Weekly Journal of Commerce*, June 1853 to June 1859, and January 1859 to May 1862; Sheriffs' Returns for Delinquent Tax Payers in all of the Counties of Maryland (1802-1806).

Another interesting purchase was a colored engraving of "His Excellency George Washington," engraved by J. Galland after a portrait by F. Bartoli. The engraving is "Dedicated to Commodore John Barry and the officers of the Navy and Army of North America by Ferrai & Dupin Baltimore." As Barry died in 1803, it seems likely that the engraving was made before that date, and we have assigned it to the period 1800-1803.

A gift deserving particular mention is that of the Hughes Company, Baltimore photographers, who presented us with 1,947 negatives, the first installment in the disposition of the large photographic archives acquired by that company during its existence.

Largely through the use of the funds provided by the bequest of Miss Florence J. Kennedy, important strides were made during the year in making the collections of the Library more available to qualified researchers. Through grants made to our summer student employees, a considerable amount of indexing was accomplished. Particular attention was paid to the indexing of the Bonaparte papers, the Redwood manuscript collection, the Falconer papers, and a large number of miscellaneous manuscripts, belonging to no specific collection. The manuscripts were arranged chronologically, folders made for each individual piece, main entry cards prepared, and extensive cross indexing done when the content of the manuscript warranted it. Approximately 4,000 index cards were added to our manuscript collection index files during the year.

In addition, a significant start was made in the revising of the manuscript inventory cards. These cards give a brief description of each manuscript collection here, including provenance, inclusive dates, and size of the collection. The work of revising these cards was coupled with the preparation of descriptions of our holdings to be sent to the Union Catalog of Manuscripts at the Library of Congress. Approximately 100 collections were described in this

manner. During the course of this work it was found feasible to assign to each collection described a specific location in our stacks. This has assisted materially in finding small collections or single items which have always offered difficulties to the staff.

In the physical restoration of manuscripts during the year particular attention was given to the large collection of Revolutionary War papers of various kinds which are in our possession. Many of these papers are muster rolls, some never published, but in addition there are large quantities of material relating to the operations of the Quartermaster Corps, Committees of Observation, and other important agencies of the Revolutionary period. A large collection of the papers of the Stone family of Charles County is also receiving attention, and, of course, there are quantities of single items and miscellaneous materials whose physical condition was such that they demanded immediate attention.

Miss Betty Adler's work on the compilation of a Cumulative Index to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* has proceeded most satisfactorily. All of the first 12 volumes of the *Magazine* have now been completed. This represents perhaps 23% of the work to be done and thousands of cards have been prepared, but it is impossible at this time to estimate the exact number.

During the year two meetings of the Library Committee were held, March 15 and September 20. Among the significant items which appeared on the agenda were the following:

(a) A discussion of the conversations taking place between local libraries in regard to respective spheres for collection of library materials. Those libraries most intimately concerned with the Maryland Historical Society Library were the Peabody Institute Library, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and the University of Maryland Library, all of which have Maryland collections. Meetings between the librarians occurred twice during the year, and certain clarification of collecting policies resulted.

(b) It was resolved: That the Council of the Society formulate a policy to refuse permission for the publication of the Latrobe sketches and watercolors except with the express permission of the Council. This resolution was adopted by the Council at its March meeting.

(c) The Committee adopted a resolution urging the Council to appoint a Curator of Manuscripts as soon as possible.

(d) At its meeting on September 20, the Library Committee scrutinized the budgeted funds for library administration (excepting salaries). The conclusion of the Committee was that the budgeted figure was unrealistically low in the light of the amount of work to be done, of present day costs, and of the importance of keeping the collections *au courant* through the acquisition of significant materials in the fields of our collection. At this meeting it was resolved: That the Council of the Society be asked to increase the operations budget from \$3,500 to \$5,000 for the next fiscal year.

(e) The Committee discussed at some length the proposed merger of the libraries of Johns Hopkins University and the Peabody Institute. It was recognized by the Committee that the Society is at least concerned in the matter because of the fact that our book collection policies have often been dictated

by those of the Peabody Institute Library, and that, particularly in the fields of genealogy, local history, and bibliography, acquisitions have not been made by the Society when it was known that the Peabody Institute Library would acquire books in those fields.

(f) The Committee adopted and referred to the Council of the Society for their action a statement of library acquisition policies, which is as follows:

The Library collects broadly in the field of Maryland manuscripts, books, newspapers, maps and prints.

(1) MANUSCRIPTS—Any manuscript material from, to, or about a Marylander, or any manuscript Maryland archival material is collected by the Library. We will frequently accept, but not actively collect, literary manuscripts or manuscripts in the field of Americana without specific Maryland reference. In many instances, possessors of the latter class of manuscripts are referred to a more appropriate depository.

(2) BOOKS—Books directly related to all aspects of the history of Maryland are collected; also: books by Marylanders on Maryland subjects; books on Maryland subjects by non-Maryland authors; genealogies; special historical studies in the general field of Americana; and Maryland imprints prior to 1830.

The Library does not collect juvenilia, literary subjects (even though they may be by a Maryland author), or non-Maryland books by Maryland authors.

(3) NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, PERIODICALS—The Library will collect all Maryland newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, with the exception of Baltimore newspapers subsequent to 1870.

(4) MAPS—The Library will collect all maps showing Maryland, but will not usually accept maps whose only Maryland connection is imprint.

(5) PRINTS AND PHOTOGRAPHS—The Library collects all prints and photographs of Maryland subjects, but does not collect prints whose only Maryland connection is imprint.

(6) SPECIAL COLLECTIONS—The Library actively collects: Bookplates of Maryland individuals and institutions; early American and heraldic bookplates; Maryland broadsides; sheet music of Maryland publishers or by Maryland composers.

(7) OTHER—Because of a contemporary interest in the matter, a large collection of Confederate imprints was made just after the Civil War. Additions to this collection are made as occasion arises.

Occasionally it is found necessary to make exceptions to the above general rules because of the association value of a specific object.

The collection of such items as original drawings and paintings falls within the responsibility of the Gallery.

As is customarily the case this fine report to which the Committee subscribes was prepared by Mr. John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director, Library and Archives.

HUNTINGTON WILLIAMS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

The Committee advises as to policy for the publications of the Society, including its quarterly issues of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* and *Maryland History Notes*.

The Maryland Historical Seminar, operating under the sponsorship of the Committee, met on May 6 to discuss with Mr. Wilbur Hunter, Director of the Peale Museum, chapters of his draft history of Baltimore. In addition to members of the Seminar, Dr. Constance McL. Green and Mr. Hamilton Owens attended as guest critics.

Two members of the Committee, Professor Aubrey C. Land and the undersigned, both members of the Seminar, gave a critical reading to a manuscript biography of Governor Horatio Sharpe, by Professor James High, of the University of California, Santa Barbara. The manuscript in revised form has been awarded a prize by the Sons of Colonial Wars of Maryland, and has been submitted for publication as a volume in the Society's *Studies in Maryland History*.

Having embodied a comprehensive program in its 1962 Report, which still awaits action by the Council, the Publications Committee did not meet in 1963. Its recommendations still pending are as follows:

1. That the Society's program be intensified in the fields of scholarly and cultural publication;
2. That more attention and effort be devoted to the publication of articles, if not of books, of a general cultural appeal;
3. That to this end, and to lighten the burden of the Director, the Council move as soon as possible to the creation, within the staff, of a Publications Division under an Assistant to the Director, charged with developing a balanced and more productive program of publication, including full attention to the editing of the *Magazine*.
4. That the publication of the Latrobe papers be moved forward, and that the means to accomplish this important project be sought;
5. That in future volumes of the *Archives* the format of Judge Bond's *Proceedings of the Maryland Court of Appeals* be followed, in the interest of economy;
6. That the master copy of the documents to be published in the *Archives* be typed from the photostats for final editing;

7. That the price per copy of the *Archives* be raised to \$10 for purchasers and to \$5 for members of the Society;

8. That the compensation of the Editor of the *Archives* be increased.

As stated in the Annual Report of 1962, Dr. Marvin Breslow of the Department of History, University of Maryland, has undertaken to complete the manuscript of the late James W. Foster's life of George Calvert. Dr. Breslow reports satisfactory progress.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON MEMBERSHIP

January 1, 1963:

| | |
|------------------------|------|
| Honorary Members | 2 |
| Life Members | 78 |
| Active Members | 3383 |

3463 3463

New Members 1963:

| | |
|--------------|-----|
| Life | 6 |
| Active | 213 |

219 219

3682 3682

Members lost—1963:

| | |
|--------------------|----|
| Deaths—Life | 1 |
| Active | 53 |
| Resignations | 49 |

103

103

December 31, 1963.....Net total

3579

Totals in each class,

December 31, 1963:

| | |
|----------------|------|
| Honorary | 2 |
| Life | 83 |
| Active | 3494 |

3579

1963 net gain in membership

116

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON ADDRESSES

During 1963 the Society met in evening sessions as follows:

January 15—Joint meeting with the Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities. Mrs. J. M. P. Wright, President of Historic Annapolis, gave a slide-illustrated talk entitled "Annapolis, Will Its Future Match Its Past?"

February 11—Annual meeting with election of officers and committee members. Open house for members.

April 15—Joint meeting with the Committee for the Restoration of Mother Seton's House in Baltimore. Dr. Annabelle M. Melville, author of *Elizabeth Bayley Seton, 1774-1821*, spoke on "A House on Paca Street and the Stream of History."

May 15—Mr. Joseph L. Stanton, Executive Director of the Maryland Port Authority, gave an address on "A New Face On An Old Port."

October 8—Mr. Paul N. Perrot, Director of the Corning Museum of Glass, discussed "American Glass of the 18th and 19th Centuries." His talk was illustrated with slides.

October 29—Mr. John B. Funk, Chairman and Director of the Maryland State Roads Commission, discussed "Freeways and History."

December 11—Mr. Stewart S. Cort, President of the Bethlehem Steel Company, gave an address entitled "Bethlehem Steel in the History of Maryland."

The following afternoon meetings were held:

March 19—Mr. Richard H. Randall, Jr., Assistant Curator, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gave a slide-illustrated lecture on "Great Men and Great Furniture in the 18th Century."

April 2—Mr. Milo M. Naeve, Secretary, The Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum, lectured on "American Earthenware Before 1850." His talk was illustrated with slides.

The Committee hopes that the members found the varied meetings to be interesting and instructive. Suggestions for speakers will be welcomed.

HOWARD BAETJER, II, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAR RECORDS

In the three-year report (1960-62) published in the September issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, the alphabetizing of carbon copies of separation from service forms of Maryland veterans in preparation for the publication of a *Register of Marylanders in the Armed Forces—World War II* was discussed. That alphabetizing has now been completed, and the Board of Public Works of Maryland has been so notified. The Board expects to include in the 1964 State budget a request for funds to publish the *Register*.

The War Records Division continues to provide information relative to World War II to veterans' groups, government agencies, military units, individual veterans and to various media of communication.

JOHN T. MENZIES, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

No meetings of the Committee were held this year. However, through informal conversation with Committee members, the Director was asked to formulate, for discussion in 1964, suggestions for educational policies and programs to become applicable upon occupation of the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. This has been done.

In 213 groups nearly 7,000 school children toured the Society's collections during the year. Each tour requires approximately an hour, and effort is put forth to make each a genuine learning experience. Miss Selma Grether, Docent, directs and actually handles much of the program, but she gratefully acknowledges the valuable assistance of the following volunteers from the Junior League: Mrs. E. Kirkbride Miller, Jr., Chairman, Mrs. Thomas B. Catron, IV, Mrs. John H. Cochrane, Mrs. Elbert H. Deaton, Mrs. Bryden B. Hyde, Mrs. J. T. Jervey, Jr., Mrs. John McKenzie, IV, and Mrs. Arthur L. Smith.

An interesting and worthwhile development inaugurated by Mrs. Bryden Hyde was the lending from the Society's collections of certain items for the Johns Hopkins Hospital Child Life Program. This is based on the belief that while a child may be a sick child he is still a child, requiring and deserving all possible attention in addition to medical care. The materials lent by the Society are

used as visual aids in programs designed to be educational rather than simply distracting or entertaining.

No new school publications appeared during the year, and the stock on hand of previously published items was sufficient to preclude reprinting.

THOMAS G. PULLEN, JR., *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RELATIONS WITH OTHER SOCIETIES

The Annual Conference of Historical Societies of Maryland was held September 28, 1963, at the Society's headquarters. Delegates at the meeting were privileged to hear Dr. David Donald, Harry C. Black Professor of American History, Johns Hopkins University, brilliantly discuss "Changing Interpretations of United States History." At the morning session the decision was made to form an Association of Historical Societies of Maryland. Mr. Orlando Ridout, IV, was elected President and Mr. Harold R. Manatee Secretary-Treasurer. The two were requested to prepare a constitution for submission to the individual societies.

County societies continued to call upon the state society for technical advice as to the accessioning and preservation of materials and for suggestions as to various procedures. Requests continue for speakers, and these are always cheerfully complied with, but usually by the President or the Director.

In the annual Awards of Merit program of the American Association for State and Local History the historical societies of Carroll and St. Mary's counties were recommended by the state society for commendation, the former "For meritorious service in presenting the Civil War history of Carroll County at various levels of community interest"; and the latter "For the consistently high quality of *Chronicles of St. Mary's*, a publication of interest and usefulness to a wide range of readers." Both awards were approved by the national committee.

ROSAMOND R. BEIRNE, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE
MARITIME COLLECTION

Of the many 1963 accessions to the Maritime Collection two were especially noteworthy. First, a rigged model of the Navy Schooner *Enterprise* (3rd). Provided with a stand and glass case, it was the gift of Mr. R. Hammond Gibson, Acting Curator, who made the 36-inch-long model after a watercolor painted in Marseilles in 1806 by Antoine Roux. The actual vessel was built in St. Michaels in 1799 by Henry Spencer. Second, a rigged model of the United States Steam Sloop *Hartford*. Also provided with a stand and glass case, the 42-inch-long model, made by John Dernoga, was presented by Dr. H. L. Wheeler, Captain, U. S. N. R. (Ret'd.). The *Hartford* was the flagship of Admiral David Glasgow Farragut from 1861 to 1864.

On May 21st, the Committee sponsored a meeting of the Society at which Mr. Joseph L. Stanton, Executive Director of the Maryland Port Authority, discussed recent and planned developments in Baltimore harbor in a talk entitled "A New Face On An Old Port."

On June 19th, at a luncheon meeting the Committee discussed the space allocated to the Maritime Collection in the proposed Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building. Unanimously the group recommended to the Building Committee and the Council that the area under the auditorium be excavated instead of remaining as crawl space so that more space could be assigned.

During the summer an exhibit of trophies, photographs and other items relating to the Baltimore rowing clubs of former days was held. Materials were lent by many former members of such groups including Mr. J. Latrobe Cogswell and Mr. Charles I. Haslup, one-time members of the Arundel Boat Club. The exhibitions aroused much interest and resulted in the presentation of a wide variety of additional items from Mrs. J. C. Atkinson, her father, Mr. Edward G. Freburger, having been a member of the Ariel Boat Club; and from Mr. Charles T. Howard.

In November a talk by Mr. Stewart S. Cort, President of the Bethlehem Steel Company, was illustrated by an exhibit of builders' half models of certain steamers and tugboats built by that company or its predecessors in Baltimore.

In October the Acting Curator, with the aid of the Society, had color slides made of the models he has contributed to the collection during the last 14 years. These, with additional slides of other subjects, he used as the basis for an address on the maritime his-

tory of Maryland which he has given to the historical societies of Kent and Talbot counties and to other groups.

Mr. Gibson's generous volunteer help continued through the year with good effect.

G. H. POWDER, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE FOR THE THOMAS AND HUGG MEMORIAL BUILDING

In several meetings during the year the Committee studied the drawings for the Thomas and Hugg Memorial Building as they were developed by Meyer and Ayers, architects. All of the houses but one on the site of the proposed building were razed. Working drawings and specifications are expected to be ready for bids in early 1964.

ABBOTT L. PENNIMAN, JR., *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE WOMEN'S COMMITTEE

During 1963 the Women's Committee met on seven occasions at the Society's headquarters and accomplished a variety of assignments.

Mrs. William Pitcher made an inventory of the prints on the walls of the ground floor hall. Mrs. Swepson Earle, with the assistance of Mrs. Virginia Swarm, Registrar, re-arranged and cataloged the costume collection, which dates from 1740-1920, and expanded its storage area. They also assumed the responsibility for rotating costumes on mannequins in the Society's several rooms. Again Mrs. Kenneth Bourne and Miss Louisa Gary mended the handsome drapes in the Double Parlor. The former also typed many church and cemetery records for the Library, and the latter has crepelled numerous marriage records. Mrs. Creighton Reipe and Mrs. Edward Dunn inventoried the Redwood Collection, and Mrs. Charles A. Webb and Mrs. Symington, the Bonaparte Collection.

Mrs. Bryden Hyde presented a number of handmade candles for the colonial kitchen exhibit, and Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser arranged for the purchase of the wax turkey now displayed in a roasting kitchen. Pen and ink sketches for the visitors' guide book in the kitchen were made. Mrs. J. William Middendorf, Jr., arranged an outstanding exhibit of prints and letters relating to Revolutionary War figures, and Mrs. George Weems Williams completed and presented to the Society a catalog of the laces in its collection.

Last year, as a memorial to the late James W. Foster, the Com-

mittee engaged Miss Elisabeth Packard, one of its members, to restore the portrait of Daniel Carroll. During this year the restoration was completed and the portrait re-hung. Toward the same end the companion portrait of Mrs. Daniel Carroll will be restored during the summer of 1964.

A House Committee composed of Mrs. William Baker, Mrs. George Weems Williams and Miss Mary Gordon Thom suggested many improvements to the Society's headquarters. Storage cabinets for the Committee's growing collection of silver and china for entertainment use were removed from one of the Monument Street houses before razing and installed in the Housekeeper's quarters.

Several members served as hostesses for various tours and meetings and some acted as registrars for the conference of historical societies in September. Under the chairmanship of Mrs. Paul Swett the Committee tendered the Annual Tea for New Members in November. Several members contributed and arranged Christmas greens. During the year the Committee voted to establish yearly dues, and elected Mrs. William Pitcher as treasurer. For the cooperation of all members of the Committee in undertaking these and other activities, I extend my thanks.

KATHERINE S. SYMINGTON, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE SPECIAL PROJECTS COMMITTEE

The Special Projects Committee continued representation among other historical groups and contributed time to several inter-society studies. It sponsored another Bay Cruise which this year, for the first time, failed to cover expenses.

The Committee's Maryland Heritage Award for 1963, the second to be presented on an annual basis, went to Mr. Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., Director of the Peale Museum, whose energy in the field of preservation above and beyond his professional duties as Director of the Peale Museum has stimulated a new interest, not only in creating an understanding of Baltimore's heritage, but also in activating forces for its preservation. Recognition was also given to the Mother Elizabeth Seton house restoration, and to the Maryland National Bank's reconstruction in St. Michaels.

C. A. PORTER HOPKINS, *Chairman*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
FOR THE YEAR 1963

December Eighteenth
Nineteen Hundred Sixty-Three

Maryland Historical Society
Baltimore, Maryland

We have examined the accompanying Balance Sheet, resulting from cash transactions of the Maryland Historical Society as of September 30, 1963, and the related Statement of Operations for the year then ended. Our examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as we considered necessary in the circumstances.

In our opinion, the accompanying statements present fairly the assets and liabilities of the Maryland Historical Society at September 30, 1963, resulting from cash transactions, and the income collected and expenses disbursed during the year then ended, on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

ROBERT W. BLACK
Certified Public Accountant

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE, MARYLAND
BALANCE SHEET—SEPTEMBER 30, 1963

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

Current Assets

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------|--|
| Cash in Bank—Operating Funds | \$ 7,671.16 | |
| —Special Funds | 32,929.65 | |
| —Building Fund | 23,885.83 | |
| Cash On Hand | 100.00 | |
| Due from Endowment Fund | 138.01 | |

TOTAL CURRENT ASSETS \$ 64,724.65

Fixed Assets

| | | |
|------------------------------|--------------|--|
| Real Estate | \$100,000.00 | |
| Air Conditioning | 10,330.00 | |
| Books | 1.00 | |
| Manuscripts and Prints | 1.00 | |
| Painting and Statuary | 1.00 | |
| Furniture and Fixtures | 1.00 | |

TOTAL FIXED ASSETS \$ 110,334.00

TOTAL CURRENT FUND ASSETS \$ 175,058.65

Restricted Fund

| | | |
|------------|--------------|--|
| Cash | \$ 16,957.73 | |
|------------|--------------|--|

Endowment Fund

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Cash Corpus | \$ 1,166.10 |
| Cash Deposit—Baltimore Equitable Society | 90.00 |
| Mortgage Receivable | 10,266.22 |
| Real Estate | 525,001.63 |
| Bonds | 984.08 |
| Stocks | 103,591.87 |
| Ground Rents | 666.66 |

TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND ASSETS \$ 641,766.56

Forward \$ 833,782.94

CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES

Current Liabilities

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|
| Due to Special Fund | \$ 5,000.00 |
| Due to Williams Fund | 3,582.30 |
| Special Fund Account | 39,932.07 |
| Notes Payable | 60,000.00 |
| Accrued Salaries and Expenses | 7,832.00 |

TOTAL CURRENT LIABILITIES \$ 116,346.37

Net Worth

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Reserve for Latrobe Papers Repair Fund | \$ 2,802.21 |
| Surplus—Schedule #1 | 55,910.07 |

TOTAL NET WORTH \$ 58,712.28

TOTAL CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES AND NET WORTH \$ 175,058.65

Restricted Fund

Restricted Fund \$ 16,957.73

Endowment Fund

| | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| Due to Current Fund | \$ 138.01 |
| Endowment Fund Reserve | 641,628.55 |

TOTAL ENDOWMENT FUND \$ 641,766.56

Forward \$ 833,782.94

CURRENT FUND ASSETS

Forwarded \$ 833,782.94

Daingerfield Fund

| | |
|-------------------|-----------|
| Cash Corpus | \$ 35.93 |
| Bonds | 67,312.54 |
| Stocks | 95,124.21 |

TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND ASSETS \$ 162,472.68

Wild Fund

| | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| Cash Corpus | \$ 67.70 |
| Bonds | 12,705.00 |
| Stocks | 49,085.71 |
| Ground Rents | 1,307.00 |

TOTAL WILD FUND ASSETS \$ 63,165.41

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| Williams Fund | |
| Cash Corpus | \$ 792.96 |
| Due from Current Fund | 3,582.30 |
| Bonds | 4,987.33 |
| Stocks | 189,160.25 |
| TOTAL WILLIAMS FUND ASSETS | \$ 198,522.84 |
| | <u>\$1,257,943.87</u> |
| CURRENT FUND LIABILITIES | |
| Forwarded | \$ 833,782.94 |
| Daingerfield Fund | |
| Daingerfield Fund Reserve | \$162,472.68 |
| TOTAL DAINGERFIELD FUND | \$ 162,472.68 |
| Wild Fund | |
| Wild Fund Reserve | \$ 63,165.41 |
| TOTAL WILD FUND | \$ 63,165.41 |
| Williams Fund | |
| Williams Fund Reserve | \$198,522.84 |
| TOTAL WILLIAMS FUND | \$ 198,522.84 |
| | <u>\$1,257,943.87</u> |

STATEMENT OF OPERATIONS
CURRENT FUND

for the year ended September 30, 1963

INCOME

Dues and Contributions

| | |
|---------------------|-------------|
| Dues | \$25,924.50 |
| Contributions | 487.00 |

TOTAL DUES AND CONTRIBUTIONS \$26,411.50

Investment Income

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Securities—Net | \$27,064.06 |
| Real Estate—Net | 7,247.81 |
| Trusts | 2,023.75 |

TOTAL INVESTMENT INCOME \$36,335.62

From the State of Maryland

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| State Programs | \$ 8,909.82 |
| Archives Account | 1,399.92 |
| State Index | 4,090.20 |
| Magazine Indexing | 2,288.81 |

TOTAL STATE OF MARYLAND INCOME \$16,688.75

Other Income

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Sales of Publications | \$ 2,903.96 |
| Magazine Advertising | 783.00 |
| Library Service Charges, Fees, etc. | 425.16 |
| Sales Tax Commission | 1.02 |
| Miscellaneous | 124.12 |

TOTAL OTHER INCOME \$ 4,237.26

TOTAL INCOME—Forward \$83,673.13

Forwarded \$ 83,673.13

EXPENSES

Salaries and Wages

Building Maintenance

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| Salaries | \$68,590.73 |
| Pensions | 4,117.56 |
| Social Security | 2,047.02 |

\$74,755.31

Library

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Books and Manuscripts | \$ 2,200.92 |
| Binding and Other | 981.89 |
| Supplies and Photostats | 1,212.13 |

\$ 4,394.94

Gallery and Museum

| | | | |
|--|----|----------|-------------|
| Repairs | \$ | 552.90 | |
| Exhibit Supplies | | 215.61 | |
| Transportation and Storage Expense, etc. | | 1,001.75 | \$ 1,770.26 |

Publications

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|--|--|-------------|
| Magazines and Bulletins | | | \$14,366.20 |
|-------------------------------|--|--|-------------|

Building Maintenance

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|----|----------|-------------|
| Maintenance and Repairs | \$ | 2,630.10 | |
| Supplies | | 340.34 | |
| Light and Heat | | 4,203.06 | |
| Insurance and ADT | | 3,516.18 | \$10,689.68 |

State Funds (Non Salary)

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----|--------|--------|
| Index Fund | \$ | 28.59 | |
| Magazine Indexing | | 347.33 | 375.92 |

Other Expenses

| | | | |
|--|----|----------|-------------|
| Pension Expense | \$ | 96.25 | |
| Membership Extensions | | 574.89 | |
| Addresses | | 826.96 | |
| Office Supplies | | 1,102.11 | |
| Telephone | | 1,466.78 | |
| Postage | | 971.93 | |
| General—Travel, Professional Memberships, etc. | | 138.06 | |
| Moving Street Cars | | 136.40 | |
| Hauling | | 185.00 | |
| Awards | | 75.00 | |
| Gratuity in Lieu of Pension | | 5,000.00 | |
| Miscellaneous and General | | 712.20 | \$11,285.58 |

TOTAL EXPENSES \$117,637.89

EXCESS OF EXPENSES OVER INCOME (\$ 33,964.76)

NEW PUBLICATION

THE WAR OF 1812 IN THE CHESAPEAKE BAY

BY

GILBERT BYRON

A concise account of the campaign waged by the British along the Chesapeake for nearly two years. Primarily written for teachers and students, but an excellent general reference. Paper back; about 115 pp. plus 12 half-tones and 2 maps. \$2.00, tax and mailing extra.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISING

PHOTOGRAPHY

Since 1878

HUGHES CO.

Copy and Restoration Work a Specialty.

C. Gaither Scott

Black and White or Color.

115 E. 25th Street

Phone: 889-5540

Baltimore 18

PHOTOSTATS & PHOTOGRAPHS

Baltimore Photo & Blue Print Co.

211 E. Baltimore Street

* 35 mm. color or black and white slide duplicates.

Photo copying of Portraits, Old Photographs,

LE 9-6881

Genealogical Charts, Records, Coats of Arms.

PLUMBING — HEATING

M. NELSON BARNES

Established 1909

BE 5-2572

3 West 23rd St.

BOOKBINDING

JOSEPH RUZICKA, INC.

Tu. 9-7847 — Tu. 9-5095

3200 Elm Avenue (11)

Magazines, Books & Records

Restoration of rare volumes

WANTED by collector for cash or trade all tokens, medals, badges and paper money pertaining to Maryland. Correspondence invited. Benjamin G. Egerton, 407 Gittings Ave., Baltimore 12, Md. ID 3-7779.

**TONGUE, BROOKS
& COMPANY**

I N S U R A N C E

Since 1898

**213 ST. PAUL PLACE
BALTIMORE**

**SMITH'S
BOOK STORE**

Established 1876

Special attention to inquiries
for books relating to Baltimore
and Maryland.

LIBRARIES OR SINGLE
BOOKS PURCHASED

CATALOGS ISSUED

805 N. HOWARD STREET
MU 5-2823 BALTIMORE 1



*Photo Engravings
for Programs
- Catalogs
and Magazines -*

The
ADVERTISERS ENGRAVING COMPANY
501-509 EAST PRESTON STREET
MULberry 5-2357 5-2358

**TRADITIONAL
FURNITURE**

*From America's outstanding
sources . . . in wide
open stock selection.*

Our workroom offers complete
restoration service . . . cabinet-
work, refinishing and reuphol-
stering.

FALLON & HELLEN

11 and 13 W. Mulberry St.
Baltimore, 1, Maryland
LEXington 9-3345

IN 1904—

when we reached the age of 25

An equestrian statue of John Eager Howard was unveiled in Baltimore. — *Jan. 16.*

Baltimore was partially destroyed by fire, with damage estimated at \$125,000,000-\$150,000,000. — *Feb. 7-8.*

By an Act of the General Assembly the flag of Maryland was legalized. — *March 9.*

Maryland Building at World's Fair in St. Louis formally opened. — *June 8.*

Wherever you move . . . whatever you store . . . call Monumental-Security Storage Company, Baltimore agent for Allied, the World's largest, most trusted Van Line.

MOVING local or long distance by skilled personnel experienced in handling everything from household furnishings to priceless works of art.

PACKING with our exclusive Kleen-Pack method in custom containers protects even your most fragile possessions in storage and during transportation.

STORAGE in Baltimore's most modern concrete and steel warehouse, sprinkler equipped to give you the lowest possible insurance rate and the best possible protection.

Your Baltimore Agent for Allied Van Lines

Monumental-
 **Security STORAGE CO.**

WINDSOR AVENUE AND MONROE STREET
BALTIMORE 17, MD.

Lafayette 3-2141

Lafayette 3-3771

"Serving Baltimore and the Nation Since 1879"



1913 — FIFTY-ONE YEARS — 1964

★ of Friendly Service-with-a-smile



YOUR OWN HOME

★ TRADITION BUILDER . . . CHARACTER
BUILDER . . . HAPPINESS MAKER . . . HAVEN!

★ For fifty-one years *FRATERNITY FEDERAL* has helped
Marylanders OWN their homes through economical mort-
gage loans.



For fifty-one years *FRATERNITY FEDERAL* has paid
uninterrupted dividends—NOW QUARTERLY. You'll
save the down-payment on your dream-home faster, here . . .



FRATERNITY FEDERAL *Savings*

AND LOAN ASSOCIATION

Main office:

764-770 Washington Blvd.
Baltimore, Md.—21203

Branch:

Normandy Shopping Center
Route 40, West Ellicott City, Md.

★ SAVE-by-MAIL
(postage paid both ways)

★ Spacious PARKING LOTS
—both offices

★ Three DRIVE-UP WINDOWS
at main office